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TERMS.

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☞ We desire to call attention to the notice which asks correspondents, in all cases, when names are sent, to give the *county,* as well as post office and State. One correspondent writes, "It is of no consequence to give the name of the county." It is of consequence to us, as we cannot enter the names of subscribers till we ascertain the county. Let every name be distinctly written.

☞ Agents and others, in sending names, are requested to be very particular, and have each letter distinct. Give the name of the *Post Office,* the *County,* and the *State.*

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☞ In transcribing names, it is probable that errors have occurred. Our friends are requested to notify us in such cases, that they may be immediately corrected.

☞ Agents will notice that we keep an account with each subscriber. Hence no accounts will be kept with the agents; and in transmitting moneys on which they are entitled to a commission, they will retain the amount of their commission, and, *in all cases,* forward the money with the names, so as to make the account even at each remittance.

☞ Any clergyman who will procure four subscribers, and send us eight dollars, may have a fifth copy gratis for one year.

L. P. NOBLE, *Publisher.*

THE NATIONAL ERA.

For the National Era.

PORTRAITS FOR THE PEOPLE.

BY JOHN SMITH THE YOUNGER.

No. 6.

THE "MAN WHO PULLS THE ROPES."

An eel for you remains, in Tiber bred,
With foulest mud and the rank ordure fed,
Discharg'd by common sewers from all the town;
No secret passage was to him unknown;
In every noisome sink the serpent slept,
And through dark vaults oft to Suburra crept!
Dryden's Juvenal.

In every circle at Washington you hear constant allusions to the extraordinary operations of the "Man who Pulls the Ropes." His mysterious agency is a standing topic in every bar-room; keen-eyed men whisper it as they smoke and shake their heads in little groups upon the sidewalk; grave and thoughtful Senators ponder it, as, after dinner, they walk forth, like Isaac of old, to meditate (?) in the pleasant even-tide; excited politicians boast of it as they drain the poisoned cup in subterranean haunts, where the sun has never shone, and smoking lamps and "damned dice" maintain the empire of continual night; lovely women anxiously inquire about it of loud-tongued Congressmen in drawing-rooms where Brussels carpets receive memorials of the great men's presence; members discuss it eagerly as they lunch behind the Speaker's chair, or gulp gin cocktails in the grog-shop of the Capitol; and even in the White House, where crafty heads are laid together, and great affairs of state are weighed, there sits unseen, like the invisible manager of Punch, this mightiest minister, the "Man who Pulls the Ropes."

And a very interesting, but alas! a very painful study it is, to trace the operations of the "Man who Pulls the Ropes." Many volumes might be filled with the details of his exploits, successful and unsuccessful. He has made Presidents, chosen high officers of state, put down one man and set another up, enacted and repealed measures of the most momentous importance, and by him the dear people are constantly "led as willingly by the nose as asses are." Sometimes he is with the Administration, and again he is its bitter and unrelenting foe. Everywhere he makes his influence felt. It is searching and penetrating as was the blood-shot eye of the Holy Inquisition; selfish and merciless as the demon of the Reign of Terror; sly, subtle, and unwearying, as she that sitteth on the seven hills. It rules alike Conventions at Baltimore and in the far wildernesses of the West. It rewards disloyalty with gifts, clothing falsehood with honor and dignity; and it comes upon the poor official like an armed man, and in a moment drives him forth naked upon the world. It stirs up strife, and lets loose upon society malice and evil speaking and wrath, and all manner of uncharitableness. It inflames the evil passions of partisanship; and in election times, brooding all day over large cities, like a foul bird of prey, its wild scream of delight may be heard at night, rising above the din and tumult of brethren and freemen fighting over the prostrate form of liberty, and thirsting for each other's blood!

Nowhere is this influence felt with more powerful and pernicious effect than in the newspaper press. Its false but specious promises pervert the pen; and the types, the dragon's teeth sown all over the land, purchased by its gold, work the will of those enemies of truth and liberty, which they were created to overthrow. Often cunningly-devised articles, manufactured at the seat of Government, are, by this hidden agency, published in distant papers, in various regions of the country, and then, collected and published in the "organ" at Washington, are palmed off upon Congress, and not unfrequently, as was the case in Jackson's time, upon the Executive itself, as the truthful and spontaneous utterance of the popular voice. Thus, Heads of Departments and mercenary officials puff themselves, and complacently seem to bask in the full sunshine of popular favor. Thus a dominant faction spreads its glory to the four winds of heaven, circulates its distorted facts, slanders its opponents, deals out its canting bombast about liberty and the "Constitution," and mocks the intelligence of the age with its spurious political economy. And, behold the working of this influence on what is called the independent press! Here, indeed, we might hope to find a sound system of political morality illustrated and maintained with talent, steadfastness, and freedom. But the hope is vain. In general, the penny press of the large cities is not by any means so influential and industrious as it might be in the propagation and defence of correct political principles. Occasionally I have seen in the "Philadelphia Ledger" and in the "New York Tribune" a powerfully written article, bearing the right stamp, and couched in the right spirit; but such witness to the truth is too rarely manifested; the hand of the "Man who Pulls the Ropes" is oftener to be seen; and no continuous effort appears to be made in any quarter for the ascendency of a purer and more independent political creed. More than one man there is conducting presses in great cities of the Union, who might exercise a most potential influence for good. But an inspection of the prints under the management of these men shows that their minds are of that corrupt and ignoble stamp which are totally unable to comprehend an elevated theory of humanity; and that they are therefore destitute of the very first element in the character of true philosophers and reformers. Many attribute the tortuous, vacillating course, the lax morality, the disregard of right principles, the contempt of that which most men hold so sacred and so dear, manifested by one of these individuals, whom I select as a fitting representative of the class, to mere mercenary motives. They say he is what he is, because his ruling desire is to make his paper "sell." But such persons are altogether wrong. They at once mistake the man, and libel our common nature. Doubtless, the services of this individual, like those of his countryman, the renowned Major Dalgetty, who fought so valiantly under the invincible Gustavus Adolphus, the Lion of the North, and bulwark of the Protestant faith, may at any time be commanded by that party by whom they are likely to be most gratefully requited. But the great reason why the newspaper in question, which is selected merely for illustration, is not what it ought to be, an able and consistent ally of truth and liberty, of pure morality and Christian civilization, is, that its conductor is one whose bosom has never heaved with philanthropic love and hope; it is because the light and warmth of eternal truth have never yet beamed upon the dim twilight of his frozen soul. Our nature, though fallen from its high estate, still retains many traces of its original nobilty. It is still susceptible of a degree of improvement, and capable of an elevated developement, which may fairly entitle it again to claim kindred with the skies. But of that, this man seems to have no suspicion. His own mind evidently never has experienced the benefit of a liberal education, or been enlarged by the study of any system of philosophy. His mental wardrobe appears, indeed, to be as scanty as that of the strolling player, whose faded finery, after serving the hero in the tragedy, reappears in the comedy, still accompanies him when he sings a ballad, and does not wholly desert him even in the farce. A handfull of commonplace quotations, a few schoolboy classical allusions, and a dozen bombastic phrases, shaken together, like the bits of colored glass and pebbles which in the kaleidescope astonish and amuse the children, form every morning a fresh combination, which, seasoned, perhaps, with an indecent or irreverent remark, or a vulgar witticism, constitutes the "leader." But his great disqualification consists in this: he has no faith in humanity. Are we, then, not right, when we pronounce him low and grovelling, and ask, how can he raise his kinsmen from the dust? As has been well said by one of the ablest reviewers of the day, "A man truly great must put faith in human greatness, because he derives from himself his archetype of humanity. He at least knows what thoughts and aspirations inhabit his own soul; he discovers there no taint of meanness; he loves his country and his kind, because it is his pleasure to love them; because he knows that the counterpart of his own greatness and goodness must exist external to himself. All the elements of greatness are concentrated in this ennobling creed, which is believed in by none but the chiefs of human kind." No conductor of the public press who answereth not to this description, ever has helped to improve and elevate, or ever will help to improve and elevate, his brethren of mankind; and when the now so-called independent newspaper press of the United States is conducted by men of that image and superscription, then wo to the "Man who Pulls the Ropes!"

But not upon the newspaper press of the country alone is the baleful influence of the "Man who Pulls the Ropes" exercised. He attends and controls every committee meeting and primary assemblage of the people. Many suppose "King Caucus" to be far more powerful than he; but that doughty personage is only one of his humblest instruments, an *imperium in imperio.* He rules "Caucus;" and often commends the poisoned chalice to the lips of those who, in the dark depths of their intrigue, imagine that they have successfully compassed the ruin of others. He it is who draws up the long strings of resolutions, expressed in all the hackneyed routine of rigmarole, which irritate the lungs of the rag-tag-and-bobtail at political mass meetings. He it is who prepares the official lists of candidates for the popular suffrages; and, thrusting on the people men of whom they know nothing, or nothing good, fills every station, from the watch-house to the White House, at his sovereign pleasure.

During the sessions of Congress, no one is so active—no, not even the candidate for the succession—as the "Man who Pulls the Ropes." Creeping stealthily along private passages, and lolling, with locked doors, in pleasant little rooms that look upon a peaceful river, he is busy in the White House—slily peeping in from the lobby, where a dusty clock tick-ticks, and sleepy "pages" doze, and Wisdom listens to the voice of the charmer, he is busy in the Senate—he is busy as he hovers about the dusky vestibule of the House—he is busy as he walks boldly at noon-day on the Avenue—haunting them like the Evil One, he is busy in the bar-rooms, smiling and joking, and with steaming jug before him—he is busy in the rooms of Members, even to the third and fourth stories—stealing along dark corridors, and ascending creaking staircases, and listening at key-holes, he is busy in the Departments—rejoicing in the shady wood, or stooping down by "Silver Spring," he is busy in the snuggeries where Democratic editors enjoy a feast of "fat" things, and from their loopholes of retreat look out upon the world—with eyes and ears forever open, threatening, wheedling, bribing, lying; now moving noiselessly, like the adder in the grass, and now stalking abroad like the panther, that walks at noon-day, openly—he is busy everywhere! Dogging continually the footsteps of Legislation, he is forever prostituting it to the corrupt and selfish purposes of "party." He has defeated hundreds of measures fraught with general good, and inflicted unnumbered evils on the country, by hasty, partial, and unjust legislation. Year after year, is he slowly rooting from the minds and hearts of legislators and people that intelligent and comprehensive love of truth and mankind, which gave immortality to the founders of this republic. Their fame he never can obliterate—that love he never can wholly eradicate—but is it so certain that he will not eventually plunder us of this rich inheritance of substantial glory?

Seldom have mortal eyes looked upon the "Man who Pulls the Ropes." Like the famed oracle of old, he operates unseen. Once I thought I obtained a glimpse of him, getting out of a cab in front of Coleman's—a little, wheezing, limping, dried-up anatomy, with great black glassy eyes, and thin pale lips, drawn up in a sardonic grin; a needy, hollow-eyed, sheep-looking wretch; a living dead man—but I was mistaken. The anatomy was only a "lobby-member," sent to Washington by the anti-tariff men of one of the Northern cities, and, with zeal not sufficiently tempered by knowledge, had that day succeeded in the notable exploit of instilling a very erroneous notion into the docile mind of the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, for which that worthy gentleman afterwards got soundly wrapped on the knuckles by a troublesome member from the State of Maine.

For the National Era.

TO THE HON. DANIEL WEBSTER.

SIR: As a Christian citizen in private life, I venture to address you concerning the prosecution of the present war with Mexico. In common with millions of my fellow-countrymen, I apprehend our nation is rapidly approaching an eventful crisis. We cannot yet discover the necessity or justice, on the part of the United States, of the pending contest. Our hopes rest in that portion of the National Legislature whose protest was proclaimed against the projects of the Administration at the outset. To yourself eminently, as a thorough expositor of the Constitution and an experienced statesman, the people earnestly appeal. In the name of millions, I presume to ask, that you will lay down and elucidate those right principles which may guide the nation to a righteous and happy result. The people want light. You and your compeers, standing at the source of knowledge, and having power to wield the destinies of the country, will not withhold the information. I do not doubt your purpose to do your duty and let your voice be heard at the appropriate time. I wish merely to suggest to you the views of plain people, who desire to know whether our invasion and conquest of Mexico can be consistent with moral principle, sound policy, and the Federal Constitution. To myself, as now informed, the nation appears to have fearfully departed from the counsel of WASHINGTON, who said: "It is worthy of a free, enlightened, and great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example, of a free people *always* guided by an exalted justice and benevolence."

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR.

The President has given us a full exposition of these. We understand the positions he assumes. We wish to be informed whether those positions can be sustained; and whether, if all the alleged grievances existed without our fault, they were valid and imperative causes of war. Could not "a free, enlightened, and great nation," have honorably forborne, and waited, and negotiated still, with a weak, turbulent, and distracted people? Could not old differences have been adjusted, if we had not meddled with Texas? If we annexed Texas rightfully, did we not provoke war and hinder negotiation, by claiming *additional* territory with arms in our hands? In the first battle, did Mexico make an unprovoked attack on our troops? or did they simply attempt to repel our invasion of their territory? Even if we were justified in marching our troops to the extreme boundary of our claim, did not justice, humanity, and true policy, require us to take our stand *there,* and act only on the defensive? In a word, was the declaration, that Mexico had waged war upon us, a truth or a "falsehood?"

THE OBJECTS OF THE WAR.

At the commencement, it was a war of *reprisals.* Mexico was indebted to us, and refused to pay, and to redress the wrongs we had suffered. We must conquer an honorable peace, must waste her treasure and blood, at a lavish expense of our own, to make her willing to pay old indemnities and our expenses in the war—not in money, but territory. However the aims of the Government might be limited or concealed at the beginning, is it not now evident to all men that we aim at conquest, the annexation of vast territories, and the subjugation of a foreign people to the power and sovereign authority of the United States? And for what end do we desire half or all the States of Mexico? Is it not for the same end, mainly, that we coveted Texas, and made it what we have—the extension of slavery, and the unlimited augmentation of the political power of the slaveholding interest in our own National Councils? If our Executive does not avow this, is it not manifestly the principal aim and determined purpose of the slaveocracy—the controlling "power behind the throne, greater than the throne?" But for this settled and wicked purpose, might not this desolating war be soon arrested? But for this, should we ever have rushed into it?

MORAL PRINCIPLE.

Independent of all considerations of interest, retaliation, or the extension of "the area of freedom," this people and their rulers should have fixed their eyes solely on the question of *moral right.* It will be true, while the earth endures, that "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people." A war manifestly unjust cannot be waged consistently with policy, interest, or safety. It may be successful; but, in such case, success is defeat; and "glorious victories" provoke the wrath of God. Nor can the people of the United States violate moral principle, without incurring signal guilt and peril. Knowing and professing the doctrine of Human Rights, based on the immutable law of God; enjoying the fruits of that knowledge above all other people; they sin with a high hand when they trample on divine commands and human rights. Now, sir, is our quarrel just? Whatever may be said of strictly defensive war, is it not wicked before God to carry death and desolation into a foreign country, for the purpose of subjugating a foreign people, and, withal, of extending the empire of *despotism?* Let wisdom in the halls of Congress settle *this* question. If this war be decided to be unjust, that decision should remove all doubt on every point involved. As at present enlightened, I believe we are contending less with Mexico than with righteousness and with God.

THE POSITION OF OPPONENTS.

A large minority in Congress opposed the declaration of war; yet many of them voted supplies. It was believed that the people of the free States then objected to the declaration; but the *prosecution* of the war, when once waged, has become the prevailing popular sentiment. The *principles* urged and embraced are, that patriotism requires us to support the Government; that we must stand by our country, right or wrong; that a vigorous prosecution of the conflict, right or wrong, is now the surest and most righteous way to secure an honorable peace. I must say that the acquiescence and vigorous co-operation of such opponents, whether citizens or legislators, in this enlightened and republican country, are most unaccountable; and the principles avowed are most unfounded and pernicious. By yielding thus, legislatures commit their constituents, and the people commit themselves, to all the guilt and consequences of a wicked war, if such it be. I say this without reserve, provided there was a constitutional and just method for avoiding a voluntary participation in the struggle. Might not both legislators and people have done so, and yet have discharged every obligation imposed by patriotism and dutiful fealty to the republic?

I have been unwilling to believe that Webster and his compeers in Congress were influenced by motives which have been alleged. I could not think that they compromised with the Administration, and consented to cripple weak Mexico, as the price of a conciliation with the Lion of England; or that they yielded in expectation of preserving a tariff, which nevertheless they lost; or that they thought to cast *all* the responsibility of an unrighteous war upon political opponents, that they might the sooner lose their popularity and ascendency. No; it must have been that they did not consider the ultimate designs of the war as then fully developed; they could not have consented to the war of conquest since waged by the Executive. To say the least, the people want light upon this point. They are waiting with intense anxiety, to know whether their Representatives will sanction what has been done, and lend their aid in making further conquests.

THE NATION'S DESTINY.

The sage of Quincy holds, that Providence and Revelation assign to this nation the right and duty of extending freedom and republican institutions over North America, and eventually over the whole Western Continent. Let them do so, by perfecting their own institutions, by a bright and constant example, by the generous diffusion of knowledge, by fair and honorable negotiation with foreign Powers. Let them do this, and shame the despots of the old world, and inspire their subjects with the love and the hope of liberty. To do this by the indefinite purchase and annexation of foreign territory to our own Union, is a matter requiring grave consideration. But does Providence or Revelation authorize us to extend republicanism by hostile invasion, devastation, and bloodshed, and the forcible subjugation of foreign Governments and people? Has our Republic become an ambitious conqueror, trampling the laws of nations and the rights of man in the dust, and all to extend human rights and pure liberty? Above all, shall we forcibly extend republicanism, with a view to perpetuate a practice of *despotism* which the Governments of the old world are everywhere renouncing?

These projects of ambition seem to me entirely adverse to the peaceful temper and habits of our people, to the spirit and design of all our republican institutions, to the acknowledged laws of nations in the nineteenth century, and to the spirit and letter of the Federal Constitution. For what ends did "the people of the United States ordain and establish a Constitution," and organize a Government? "To form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common *defence,* promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to *themselves and their posterity.*" Surely, the people of that day never dreamed of forming a military crusade, to force the "blessings of liberty"—and of *slavery* too—upon the people of other countries.

CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES.

Now, I ask, in view of the above preamble of the whole Constitution, does that instrument confer the powers which are exercised in the prosecution of the present war? Has it given to the President, or to Congress, or to both together, the right to wage a war for foreign invasion, conquest, and subjugation? Is there a hint towards such a power in the preamble, or in the whole instrument? Can the Government constitutionally compel their armies to invade a foreign country for the sole purpose of conquest? Were the Governors of the several States obliged by the Constitution to order the enlistment of volunteers to be sent abroad for such a purpose? Would they be bound to obey a requisition of the national Commander-in-chief, and order the raising of conscripts for the same destination? Troops are not now called forth from the militia, either to "execute the laws of the Union," (within itself,) or "to suppress insurrections" or "to repel invasions."

Again, I ask, Was this war *declared* according to the Constitution? How was it done? On the declaration of the President, assented to by Congress, that a state of war already existed by the act of Mexico. Was the declaration, therefore, the act of Congress, or of the President? The declaration was not made in due form by the constitutional authority. But say it was substantially the act of Congress. Now, I ask, Did the many members, whose convictions were opposed to the measure, act for the people boldly and independently, as became members of the war-making body? Is Congress in any sense *bound* to agree to the recommendations of the President in such cases? "Congress shall have power to declare war," &c. The President has "executive power." He is to execute the national will, according to the Constitution and laws; and direct the national intercourse with foreign Powers, according to existing treaties and international laws. He is also to conduct negotiations, and make treaties, with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate. He has no power to declare war; or wage war; or to bring our national affairs, by his own management, into such a predicament as to involve the nation in war, without the express concurrence of Congress. Indeed, must not Congress itself *do the act* which puts the nation at war with another, whether offensive or defensive, with the exception of a sudden invasion? Does not the assignment of this power and duty to Congress, of necessity, involve *their right to judge* of the necessity and justice of the measure? If they are obliged to vote supplies of men and money, on demand of the President, has he not actually the control both of the purse and the sword of the nation? Has he not despotic power over the lives, and property, and liberties of the people, which, according to this construction, neither they nor their Representatives can limit or control? Has not the Constitution made *Congress* the war-waging power, as a designed check upon the ambition or folly of a wicked or incompetent incumbent that might some time occupy the presidential chair? I would not impute either in the present instance, but assign our present involved troubles to the pressure of circumstances and the clamor of partisans. I would ask, however, whether the time has not come for the men of principle in Congress to assert the independent prerogatives of that body, and, in the name of the people, insist on returning to the observance of our fundamental law.

Jefferson found not a constitutional authority for adding territory and people to the Union, even by fair and "bloodless" purchase. The action of the Legislature and the acquiescence of the people seem to have sanctioned that practice. Is not that a sufficient stretch of power beyond the express grant of the Constitution? Is it not a *violation* of the Constitution to *conquer* and annex? To establish even a temporary Government in the name of this Union over a conquered people, and declare such as do not yield obedience traitors to *our* country? Will the people of this republic consent to aggression, and bloodshed, and usurped domination, in their name? Will their Federal representatives sanction such deeds? Shall we do in New Mexico and California as we have done in Texas, and far worse? Shall we *force* an unwilling people (such as survive our slaughter) to unite with our happy confederacy; to adopt our Government and institutions; to welcome our people and their *slaves;* and to restore a system of oppression where it has been a long time since destroyed?

But I forbear; again imploring the rulers of the people to revert to fundamental principles, and interpose their constitutional powers to arrest the progress of measures which seem to threaten the subversion of righteousness, and liberty, and national peace. Once more also, I say, *Give us light.*

Respectfully, yours, SENEX.

CENTRAL NEW YORK, *Jan.* 29, 1847.

For the National Era.

LAYS OF REFORM.—No. 1.

BY DR. J. E. SNODGRASS.

Cheer up! ye strugglers for the Right,
Ye lovers of the True;
A brighter day shall open yet,
Through what ye dare and do!

It may not be your lot to live,
That day of joy to share;
But still most thankful ye should feel,
The good way to prepare—

The way for Truth's triumphal march
O'er a succeeding race,
Mercy with whom shall hold the sway,
In dark Oppression's place!

Yes, sure as ye, with faithful hearts,
Toil on in Duty's sphere,
Justice shall take the place of Might,
With Mercy for compeer.

Cheer! then, ye strugglers for the Right,
Ye lovers of the True;
A brighter day shall open yet,
Through what ye dare and do!

BALTIMORE, 1847.

For the National Era.

RESPONSE TO "A HYMN TO THE DAY THAT IS DAWNING."

Onward for the Right!
Freedom's brighter day *is* dawning,
Over Earth's dark night;
Lo! the golden beams of morning,
With their living light adorning
Every mountain height.

See the Heralds stand,
Gazing at its glorious rising;
From the faithful band,
Comes the gathering shout of gladness,
Waking the doomed heart from sadness,
Over sea and land.

Spirits of the just
Bend from their abodes of brightness,
With a holy trust;
They who erst, in days of trial,
Bitter scorn, and self-denial,
Mingled with the dust.

Fearless men and true,
Bear their mantle in the conflict,
And the fight renew.
Onward press to bloodless glory,
Raise on high your banner o'er ye,
Win the field anew!

Earth's degraded poor,
Perishing for food and raiment,
Or, from door to door,
Passing on in homeless sorrow,
Now behold a brighter morrow,
Where their toils are o'er.

Slavery's dark son
Hears from far the notes of freedom—
Sees the work begun,
That shall break the spell that binds him,
Cast the yoke and chain behind him—
Freedom's battle won.

Man shall yet be free,
Happier days are yet before him
In futurity;
Voices shall be heard in Heaven,
When the Earth to God is given,
Shouting Liberty!

Friend of man, be true;
Haste to fill your blessed mission;
Millions look to you.
Fettered hands are raised toward you,
Gladdened hearts will soon reward you;
Now your zeal renew.

What though tyrants frown—
Though your ear should not be greeted
With the world's renown?
Onward, telling freedom's story,
Till a day of cloudless glory
Shall your labors crown.

* * *

NEW PHILADELPHIA, OHIO, 1847.

From the National Intelligencer.

SECRET REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY.

Haym Salomon—Distress of Members of Congress—Civil Officers, &c.

"I am almost ashamed to reiterate my wants so incessantly to you. The *kindness* of our friend in Front street (HAYM SALOMON) is a fund that preserves us from extremities, but we never resort to it without great mortification, as he obstinately rejects all recompense. To necessitous Delegates he spares supplies."—*James Madison's Letters to Edmund Randolph, in* 1781–'2.

A correspondent, in stating some of the facts taken out of a memorial now before the Senate of the United States, says the case of Haym Salomon presents one of the most striking instances of personal devotedness, in connection with the early history of the formation of our Government, that has yet met the public eye. The rescue from oblivion of these biographical incidents confirms several passages in Thiers's History of the French Revolution, showing that interesting facts regarding the character and movements of distinguished men, connected with the formation of Governments, are often hidden from view by accident or the death of such men, or the ignorance of historians, whose works are written an age or two after the occurrence of the prominent facts. The reminiscences given in this article show that public history is often silent respecting the deeds, services, and patriotism of the most worthy individuals, while others less deserving are extravagantly praised.

Among the distinguished foreigners who became permanent residents of this country at that period—Judge Willson, Gen. Lee, Baron Steuben, Col. Fleury, Kosciusko, Pulaski, De Kalb, Montgomery, Sterling, Hamilton, Robert Morris, T. Paine, &c.—there was not one whose services were more efficient to the members of the Revolutionary Government and the representatives of the Monarchs then our allies than HAYM SALOMON.

He was the native fellow-countryman and most intimate associate of those two other patriotic and brave Polanders, Kosciusko and Pulaski. He married in Philadelphia a lady, the sister of the brave Colonel Franks, and settled there, where he unexpectedly died some months after the peace of 1783, being much younger than his two other compatriots. He left no relatives in this country competent to take charge of his estate or affairs, and thereby prevented that grateful remembrance, by suitable rewards and indemnities for his sacrifices, which might then have been expected from his contemporaries in the great work of the Revolution.

The nature of the aid rendered to the holy cause by this patriotic individual, alluded to by Mr. MADISON in the heading of this article, ought to force an acknowledgment that the services rendered to the civil government, or the governors of a country, are paramount in efficiency and importance to those made in favor of the military, when it is recollected that the civil power, as governors of a people, enact the very laws by which the regulations of the army are sustained, and the movement of the forces directed. But if there be no civil governors, or they become dispersed by consequence of the absence of the means of their subsistence at the capital of the nation, then anarchy ensues, and the military becomes brigands. Haym Salomon was the principal source of supply to the members of the Revolutionary Government of that day, after every other application had been made in vain, and members of Congress "were reduced to extremities," to use the words of Mr. Madison. Thus it was he who enabled them to debate with mental tranquillity those important resolves respecting the great land domain of Virginia, to make what is now several great Western States, as well as several other important domestic acts in the immortal periods of their secret sessions.

From autographs now recovered, and other statements from unquestionable authority, it is observed that large sums were received from him by Robert Morris, the Superintendent of Finance; and funds were given, as may now be seen, "when necessity required," to *Jefferson, Willson, Ross, Duane, Reed,* and others, of the Congress of the Declaration, and to their successors, who were afterwards so much distinguished for their patriotism and talents as statesmen in the second and subsequent sessions of those bodies, viz: Madison, Mercer, Arthur Lee, Joseph Jones, Harrison, Mifflin, Rittenhouse, Pendleton, Randolph, and others.

In the archives of the Intendancy of Cuba, in the time of the Revolution, there is a letter from Don Francisco Rendon to Don Diego Jose de Navarro, Governor General of Cuba, in which the former says: "I am entirely indebted to the particular kindness of Mr. Salomon to support my credit with any degree of reputation, and without it I certainly could not have been able to render that protection and assistance to the subjects of his Most Catholic Majesty which is enforced on me by his royal commands." This obligation lasted nearly two years, while his supplies were cut off from Europe. Don Francisco was the *sub rosa* ambassador of King Charles III of Spain.

That this was a most important incident in the patriotic devotion of Mr. Salomon, even to jeoparding the last cent in the cause of his adopted country, while his two countrymen and devoted friends were spilling their blood and manœuvring the armies of liberty in America, may be judged from facts gathered out of the manuscript revolutionary papers in the Department of State.

There is a letter from our commissioner in Paris, dated December, 1777, in which it is seen that Louis XVI would not sign the treaty of alliance until sanctioned by his kinsman, Charles III of Spain.

The latter Prince, as a reward for the faithful services of Don Francisco in the Revolution, appointed him, after the peace, to one of the most valuable Intendancies in the Vice Royalty of New Mexico.

Mr. SALOMON was sole negotiator of all the war subsidies of France and Holland, (20,000,000,) on his own personal integrity, which were disposed of to the resident merchants in America, without any loss, at a credit of two and three months.

It was he who, when the people of Philadelphia were deprived of the use of any circulating medium by the act of withdrawal of Continental money, and great distress existed, caused two thousand dollars in specie to be distributed among the poor of that capital.

All that portion which was used in America of the 150,000,000 of livres expended by King Louis in the expeditions by sea and land, the first years of the alliance, passed through the hands of Mr. S. at the regular mercantile commissions, and which made for him so large a capital, the entire produce of which was invested in the *Revolutionary Cause,* its *Paper,* and its *Men.* The consequence was, at his premature death, four years before the new Constitution was adopted, the deprivation of his infant children, at such a period, of their entire family patrimony.

When one casts their eyes upon those two elegant specimens of American art hanging in the rotunda of the Capitol, and contemplates the benign countenances of those men who figure in those two ever-memorable epochs which they are intended to represent, and when we recollect that many of the most distinguished were often dependent solely on HAYM SALOMON for their bare subsistence, "when their supplies were cut off," (the words of Mr. Madison,) then, our correspondent asks, with those facts before us, whether the present successors could refuse a proper and suitable indemnity to the surviving son, and thereby cancel so heavy a debt of national gratitude.

From the Richmond (Va.) Republican.

FREE NEGROES AND SLAVES.

STRICTURES ON THE GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

The most extraordinary part of this message is that which relates to our free colored population. According to the last census, this class in Virginia amounted to 49,841, and, as it is slightly on the increase, it now amounts probably to upwards of 50,000. This population he proposes, by "a bold and decided treatment," to expel beyond the limits of the Commonwealth—that is, to push them on our sister States by the strong arm of the law. It is gratifying to know that this monstrous proposition meets with little favor at Richmond; and we fully concur in the sentiment expressed in the "Times," "that the inhumanity to drive them from their homes to seek a not less cruel repulse in other States, cannot fail to be shocking to the public sense of justice."

It is not possible that the people of Virginia would be willing to enact in this country the disgraceful scenes which have stained the history of despotism.

The expulsion of the Huguenots from France, and of the Jews and Moors from Spain, are justly reprobated by every historian; but the motives which prompted those measures, and the spirit of the age in which they took place, render them more excusable than the measure recommended by our Governor. Those acts of despotic cruelty were the result of religious bigotry in an age when civil and religious liberty were but imperfectly understood.

But to expel a whole class on account of the color that God has given them, would be an act unparalleled in the history of the world. It is true that, as a class, they are poor, ignorant, and degraded; but there are among them many examples of industry and piety—as many perhaps as could be expected under the unfavorable circumstances in which they are placed. Ignorance is often the mother of vice; and it becomes a grave question, whether we of the white race are not responsible for their ignorance. The laws of our State *forbid their instruction* in school learning; and these laws, though disapproved by many, are in fact upheld by every man who quietly acquiesces in their continuance, especially if he votes for men who support them. To forbid men and women to learn to read the Bible, and at the same time to condemn them for their ignorance and degradation, is at variance with the plainest dictates of humanity and common sense.

The Governor undertakes to draw a comparison between crimes committed by slaves and free negroes, and comes to the conclusion, that although the latter constitute only about one-tenth of our negro race, yet they perpetrate about six-sevenths of the crimes committed by it.

This conclusion is founded on premises utterly fallacious; for, although it may be shown that only 14 slaves were transported *by public authority* for offences committed during the past year, the Governor cannot inform us how many more have been transported by *private authority* for crimes committed by them. It is well known to every person in Virginia, that it is a common practice for masters and overseers to punish slaves for thefts and other crimes, which, if committed by a free negro, would have to be tried by a magistrate, and in most cases, if the offence is a serious one, the slave is sold by the master to the traders, and transported to the South.

It is impossible, with the statistics we have, to institute any such comparison.

I have already stated that, *as a class,* the free negroes must be considered poor, ignorant, and degraded; but is this a sufficient reason for expelling them, without even attempting any means of reformation? The Governor, in his message, states that "the penitentiary is a system which *contemplates the reformation of offenders.* This should not be forgotten in our legislation." And yet, in the same message, he recommends that free negroes be excluded from it. He acknowledges the potency of "self-respect and reviving hope" in improving the condition of the white convict, and yet would adopt a course to a whole class (which includes many virtuous persons) that would destroy their self-respect, and shut out every ray of hope from their minds.

It has been remarked by a benevolent author, that, in considering the condition of the poor, the inquiry too often is, what shall *we do with them?* instead of, what shall *we do for them?* This applies most emphatically to the case of the free colored people in the United States. Now, it appears to us that the professors of the Christian religion, who feel an earnest concern for the good of mankind and the glory of God, instead of expending their time and money in heathen lands, should pay some attention to the poor in our midst, who are perishing for lack of knowledge and for want of Christian care.

But how shall we reform them? Precisely in the same manner that we would endeavor to reform a poor, degraded community of white people. Not by withholding knowledge, but by imparting it; not by heaping on them opprobrious epithets, but by the exercise of Christian charity. Our laws with regard to this class are severe and oppressive. We not only exclude them from the scanty means of instruction afforded to the poorer class of whites, but we forbid the efforts of benevolent persons who might be disposed to educate them, and we punish them more severely than the whites when they commit offences against our laws.

The first step, therefore, towards a reformation of this class should be the repeal of those laws which retard their improvement. Let us set an example of justice and equity, and we may reasonably hope to see them follow it.

It appears to be the opinion of many, that they must be colonized; but, on the supposition that this policy should be carried out, would there be any justice or mercy in sending them to a foreign shore in their present condition?

Whether they emigrate or remain here, it is our duty to do something for their improvement. With regard to the slave popolution, the Governor has not recommended any change in the policy of the State, and yet he must be aware that this is the canker that has destroyed the prosperity of Virginia.

A VIRGINIAN.

DOING GOOD.

Daughters cannot be too early shown, by mothers, what the great business of human life is—to do good and to get good—and that they are to get good for the most part in *doing* good. One of the strongest and yet most common mistakes in the world, especially in the world of the young, is the belief that doing good is a dead loss to the doers; and that the loss is to be measured by the amount of the charity.

Another fundamental mistake of modern education consists in a neglect, both by parents and teachers, to show to the young, of both sexes, what they ought to aim at. Half of our young people, even in the families of Christian parents, have no aim at all; and a much larger proportion still have no aim which is at all worthy of a rational and immortal being. And how very few indeed can be found who feel themselves to be under daily and hourly obligation to perfect in the highest possible degree their whole nature, physical, intellectual, and moral.

How easy would it be for a mother, provided she were but a mother indeed, to tell her daughters, from time to time, that they are under the most solemn obligations to God and to the world, to obey all those laws which relate to the body, not only because it is an implied command that they should do so, but because by so doing they can constantly improve their health, add to their present means of usefulness, and prolong their lives. That it is not enough to escape sickness merely, but that they ought, in all the circumstances of life, to aspire after the highest possible amount of bodily health and vigor—provided, always, that their efforts, for this purpose, do not interfere with known and obvious duties to their friends and neighbors.—*Wm. A. Alcott.*

For the National Era.

WORSHIP.

"Pure religion, and undefiled, before God and the Father, is this: To visit the widows and the fatherless in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." *James* i, 27.

The Pagan Myths through marble lips are spoken,
And Ghosts of old Beliefs still flit and moan,
Round fane and altar overthrown and broken,
O'er tree-grown barrow and gray ring of stone.

Blind Faith had martyrs in those old high places,
The Syrian hill grove and the Druid's wood,
With mothers offering, to the Fiend's embraces,
Bone of their bone, and blood of their own blood.

Red altars, kindling through that night of error,
Smoked with warm blood beneath the cruel eye
Of lawless Power and sanguinary Terror,
Throned on the circle of a pitiless sky;

Beneath whose baleful shadow, overcasting
All heaven above, and blighting earth below,
The scourge grew red, the lip grew pale with fasting,
And man's oblation was his fear and wo!

Then through great temples swelled the dismal moaning
Of dirge-like music and sepulchral prayer;
Pale wizard priests, o'er occult symbols droning,
Swung their white censers in the burdened air:

As if the pomp of rituals, and the savor
Of gums and spices, could the Unseen One please;
As if His ear could bend, with childish favor,
To the poor flattery of the organ keys!

Feet red from war fields trod the church aisles holy,
With trembling reverence; and the oppressor there,
Kneeling before his priest, abased and lowly,
Crushed human hearts beneath his knee of prayer.

Not such the service the benignant Father
Requireth at his earthly children's hands:
Not the poor offering of vain rites, but rather
The simple duty man from man demands.

For Earth he asks it: the full joy of Heaven
Knoweth no change of waning or increase;
The great heart of the Infinite beats even,
Untroubled flows the river of His peace.

He asks no taper lights, on high surrounding
The priestly altar and the saintly grave,
No dolorous chant nor organ music sounding,
Nor incense clouding up the twilight nave.

For he whom Jesus loved hath truly spoken:
The holier worship which he deigns to bless
Restores the lost, and binds the spirit broken,
And feeds the Widow and the Fatherless!

Types of our human weakness and our sorrow!
Who lives unhaunted by his loved ones dead?
Who, with vain longing, seeketh not to borrow
From stranger eyes the home lights which have fled?

Oh, brother man! fold to thy heart thy brother;
Where pity dwells, the peace of God is there;
To worship rightly is to love each other,
Each smile a hymn, each kindly deed a prayer.

Follow with reverent steps the great example
Of Him whose holy work was "doing good;"
So shall the wide earth seem our Father's temple,
Each loving life a psalm of gratitude.

Then shall all shackles fall; the stormy clangor
Of wild war music o'er the earth shall cease;
Love shall tread out the baleful fire of Anger,
And in its ashes plant the tree of peace!

MEMORIAL

To the Citizens and Legislature of the State of Delaware, on the Subject of Slavery.

In approaching by way of memorial on the subject of slavery, the Delaware Anti-Slavery Society would ask of you that serious, calm, and candid consideration of it which its right demands. A subject which now engages the attention not only of the concentrated mind of this nation, but of the civilized world, must needs be of grave import to the welfare of man, and, as such, should not be lightly passed by, especially by the legislators of a State where the evil exists. We ask, then, that you shall and will weigh the facts and arguments here presented, and decide for yourselves—for the people of this commonwealth—as becomes men conscious of standing in the presence of that Being to whom not only all actions are known, but all motive to action. Seventy years have been numbered with those of the past, since our fathers solemnly declared to the world, that "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal—that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." They appealed to high Heaven as a witness of the honesty of their sentiments, and pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to their support. Millions of hearts beat in response and millions of swords leaped from their scabbards, to make good the declaration. A long and unequal contest ensued, which resulted in a youthful nation wresting from those of the most haughty and powerful the acknowledgment of her right to be free. But did she perfect her freedom? Did she secure to all her sons and daughters that boon for the attainment of which so much blood had been freely poured out, countless treasures expended, fruitful fields and thriving villages and flourishing cities had been ravaged, pillaged, and burned? Alas! that the answer must be in the negative. In an evil hour, when met to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of *Liberty* to themselves and their posterity," our fathers made a compromise with the dark spirit of evil, by which the plague-spot of slavery was engrafted on our national escutcheon, where, true to itself, it has acted as a blight and mildew, eating out the vitals of the nation, impoverishing the soil, corrupting the public morals, entailing disease, crime, and bondage, upon millions entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, (among whom are many who are the very decendants of the framers of that Constitution which has entailed so much misery,) until the prosperity of the nation has become seriously affected, the stability of the union extremely uncertain, and the genuine love of liberty, the public faith for which our fathers were pre-eminently distinguished, has become well nigh extinct. If such be the effects of slavery, (and who can deny that they are,) does it not become us to ponder well our ways before giving further countenance or support to the system? Would it not be well to look about us, to see if there be not a better way? These are only the rational results of a natural law. If a man thrust his hand in the fire, and draw it forth scorched and withered, or if he throw himself over a precipice and is dashed to atoms, or if he tarry long at the wine, and carry away with him redness of eyes, disease, death, he is only reaping the fruits of disobedience of a natural law in the several cases. As in physics, so in morals. All violations of moral law on the part of individuals are visited with a penalty. And as with individuals, so with nations. If nations will forget to do righteously; if they frame laws grievous and heavy to be borne; if they will defraud the laborer of his hire, they will be visited with internal weakness and ultimate destruction, unless they "learn wisdom by the things which they suffer." Not only is this a fair inference from the operations of natural law, but all history proves it to be incontrovertible truth. Time and the space we have allotted to ourselves will not admit of our citing much authority, but we refer you to your own knowledge of the nations that have existed and have ceased to be, in confirmation of what we assert. Neither can we go into an extended argument to prove the immorality of slavery. In this point we propose briefly giving our view, and resting the matter with that sense of good and evil with which every rational creature is endued. If it be true, as our fathers declared, that all men are created equal, (in their natural rights,) &c., (and who doubts the truth?] then is it not a grievous wrong that any one should be deprived of all these rights? That he should be subject entirely to the will and control of another, endowed precisely as himself? That he shall be liable to be bought, sold, sundered from his family, receive no recompense for his toil, be deprived of the blessings of an education, and of receiving religious knowledge, and, in short, cut off from all that we hold most dear, and from which we would not part only in the last extremity? If the precepts, "Whatsoever ye would have men do unto you, do ye even so unto them," "Love thy neighbor as thyself," be of binding obligation, then is it not exceedingly sinful to do unto others that which we could not bear to have done unto us? To deprive our neighbor of that liberty and those enjoyments which we so highly prize for ourselves? How many of us would like to toil a life long for the benefit of another? Be deprived of the right of locomotion for his ease? Be deprived of the privilege of sustaining the family relation, to gratify his love of lucre? Have the light of the soul quenched, to make secure his hold upon us? Death itself would be far, far less terrible to most if not all of us. Can we then do all these things, and not come under condemnation for disobedience to the command of "whatsoever ye would," &c.? Love, says the apostle, worketh no ill to his neighbor. Is it, then, to love our neighbor as ourselves to inflict all these evils, and more upon him? It is the farthest removed from it possible. It is only the love of self above all things pertaining to the welfare of our fellow creatures—to our own supposed good—above justice, above truth, above God, that can induce a continuance in a practice so plainly adverse to righteousness, morality, and to all that may be called holy. And yet this system, so abhorrent to humanity, so adverse to pure and undefiled religion, is connived at and tolerated by the State of Delaware! Legislators and people of Delaware, will you not open your eyes to the enormity of the evil you are upholding, and seek a speedy remedy in the adoption of some practicable plan of emancipation? Having thus briefly alluded to the moral bearings of the question of slavery, we would next call your attention to the impolicy of the system; and here let us remark, that we believe justice to be the highest expediency—to obey the laws of our Creator, the best policy. In confirmation of this doctrine, we would refer you to the following comparisons, mostly selected from eminent writers on the subject of slavery, showing the degrees of prosperity existing in free and slave States.

The fourteen slaveholding States contain an area of six hundred and eighty thousand square miles; whereas, the fourteen free States, together with Iowa and Wisconsin, contain only four hundred and fifty thousand square miles. The climate, mineral resources, soil, and agricultural advantages of the slaveholding country, (especially considering that cotton, tobacco, sugar, and rice, are almost exclusively productions of the South,) are equal, if not superior, to those of the North; yet the towns, cities, and general improvement of the latter greatly exceed that of the former, and there is a much larger population upon a much smaller territory. In 1796, when the first census was taken, the population of the South was little behind that of the North; and, owing to the greater breadth of frontier which lay contiguous to the Southern States, and the presence of warlike Indians, retarding settlements in the Northwest, Kentucky and Tennessee sprung into existence before any one of the Northwestern States. At the end of fifty years from the origin of the Constitution, we might have expected then the population of the South to have exceeded that of the North; but the reverse is emphatically true.

If we compare equal or contiguous parts of the North and South with each other, say New York and Virginia, Ohio and Kentucky, the contrast, in regard to their progress in wealth and population, becomes more striking. The territorial extent of New York is estimated at fifty thousand square miles; that of Virginia at sixty-five thousand. If the harbor of Norfolk is inferior to that of New York, Virginia finds compensating advantages in a more genial climate, and more numerous facilities of interior communication. In 1769, Virginia contained a population of say seven hundred and fifty thousand, and New York only three hundred and forty thousand. But the census of 1840 shows the astonishing fact, that the population of New York is within a small fraction of being double that of Virginia, being at 2,429,009 to 1,240,000.

THE RECTOR AND HIS STICK.—Mr. William Albemarle Cator, rector of Carshalton, has been fined £4, for cruelly beating a boy of fourteen, whose crime was this—he played at "hockey" before the good man's door! "The boy's clothes," say the papers, "were taken off in court, and his back exhibited several large bruises, evidently caused by violent beating." In the olden day, the wand of the priest burst into sweet-smelling blossoms, but the stick of Parson Cator bears, as gardeners would say, a very different sort of "blow."

London Punch.

Thomas Finnegan has been condemned to the State prison for five years, for the crime of kidnapping free citizens of color from Pennsylvania, but it is feared that the force of such an excellent example may be lost, by the Governor of Pennsylvania interposing a pardon.

DEATH OF DR. EDSON.—The New York papers announce the death of Dr. Edson, the living skeleton, of a pulmonary disease. He weighed only forty-nine pounds at the time of his death, and had scarcely enough flesh on his bones to keep his attenuated frame together. He was a brother of the celebrated Calvin Edson.

SPECIE.—The ship St. Lawrence, Capt. Hagedorn, from Liverpool, brought to New Orleans, on the 8th inst., £26,000, in gold, to Samuel Nicholson, and £7,500, in gold, to Mure & Barber.

SHIPPING AT CINCINNATI.—Two schooners, built at Marietta, O., for merchants in Boston and Salem, are loading with provisions at Cincinnati.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 25, 1847.

CORRESPONDENTS.

Next week will appear many communications which have been on hand for some time.

WAGES SLAVERY.

The discussion of this subject is again unavoidably postponed. We think we can reach it by next week.

OUR OUTSIDE.

John Smith the Younger is excellent this week.

The *Letter to Mr. Webster* is from a highly respectable citizen of New York State, not associated with the Liberty party.

The *Poem entitled "Worship,"* is from the pen of J. G. Whittier, and appears by mistake as original in the *Era*. It has appeared in one of the Annuals.

The *Ballad* on our fourth page is the production of a highly gifted girl of Massachusetts. It is full of music.

We commend to the reader's attention the high-toned article, copied on the first page, from the *Richmond* (Va.) *Republican*, and the memorial addressed by citizens of Delaware to their Legislature. The conclusion of this will be given next week.

OUR BOSTON CORRESPONDENT.

We regret that the letter of our obliging Boston correspondent did not reach us last week till our paper had gone to press. This week, also, the letter is too late.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

We have numerous complaints of delays and irregularities in the receipt of our paper. The fault is not with us or the post office in this city. We go to press after the adjournment of Congress on Wednesday night, and by the morning mail at 6 o'clock on Thursday we send off papers to *all* our subscribers, excepting only a small portion of them in the Western States; and these are all sent by the evening mail of Thursday.

The most numerous complaints come from our subscribers whose papers have to be distributed at the New York city office. A letter from Hartford county, Connecticut, informs us that our paper does not arrive there till Tuesday. The mail with our papers arrives in New York on Thursday, at 11½ P. M., and should reach Hartford on Friday afternoon.

A letter from Middlesex county, Massachusetts, informs us that our paper reaches there on Saturday. The mail for that county goes to Boston for distribution, and is not delayed at New York.

We make these statements in justice to ourselves, that our friends may know, that if they do not receive their papers in good time, the fault is not with us.

INEQUALITY.

"Sir, I will say, in the sincerity of my heart, the less territory we receive the better, in view of the restrictions which are likely to be attempted to be imposed upon any acquisition of territory we may make, though, if it were allowed to fall under the Missouri compromise, I would rejoice at such acquisition. I say this, not with any purpose or desire to agitate the question which is threatening to present itself in a most imposing form, and about which resolutions are coming to us couched in strong language from the Legislatures of some of the Northern States, declaring that no territory, not only no Northern territory, but no territory lying below the degree I have indicated, is to be attached to this country in which shall exist those institutions which the people of the South now enjoy. We are told that the people I represent are not to participate in any of the fruits of our conquest or acquisition; that all those fruits are to be like the apple of discord, and serve only to create disunion, dissension, and strife. Do you suppose that those who have inherited under the Constitution rights and privileges which they dearly prize, are to be told, in the most insulting manner, that they are to be deprived of a participation in that which they have deemed their inalienable right, without resenting the injury thus done to them? Why, it is with them a matter of principle, of pride, and not of sordid interest. All the objects of life, the possession of wealth or of power, would be nothing to me, if I found I had to live among those who regarded me as an inferior, in any point of view. Sir, I ask for existence for no other purpose than to enjoy those rights and privileges to which I am entitled, and which, as far as I am capable, shall ever be preserved. Is it supposed that I am to be intimidated into yielding them up? Yet this is what is gravely proposed. It is said that we are to acquire no territory at all without these restrictions. This is the anomalous position in which we have placed ourselves, or rather in which this war has placed us. We have already expended fifty millions of dollars, and the bones of hundreds of our citizens are now bleaching in the sun in Mexico, or are entombed in its soil; nay, thousands have perished. Peace is proposed, and an indemnity, a remuneration, is sought to be obtained from Mexico, but vainly sought. The only remuneration, the only indemnity we shall have, will be the remainder of our troops returning to us maimed and crippled, and asking us an indemnity for their wounds and for the sufferings which they have endured."—*Extract from the speech of Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, on the three million bill.*

We listened with deep interest to the whole speech of which the foregoing is an extract. It was manly, earnest, and free from extravagance. We do not wonder at the feeling exhibited in the extract above. If we held the same opinions, we should share in the same feelings. This assumption, that the exclusion of slavery from any new territory to be acquired by the arms or money of the republic, involves the degradation of the Southern States, reduces them to a state of inequality with the North, has not been fairly met, in any of the debates in Congress. And yet it is the strong argument of the South. It is the point on which it feels most deeply.

For one, we do not wish to see the South degraded—placed by Federal legislation below the level of the free States. All sections of this great republic have equal claims upon the paternal care of the General Government—equal rights under the Federal Constitution. Nor do we believe any considerable portion of the citizens of the North would take pleasure in any such degradation.

"Why, then, sanction this obnoxious proviso? Does it not deny equality to the Southern States?" No! It simply declares, that territory *already* free, shall *continue* free. It proposes simply to maintain in force what is already the fundamental law of that territory. Slavery is excluded by that law; it cannot be introduced there by the will of the immigrant; it cannot be established there by the laws of the slaveholding States, seeing they have no extra-territorial force. To legalize it, therefore, there must be an act of the Federal Legislature. But, whence does it derive its power to pass a law creating the relation of slavery? It has no such power; but, if it had, the creation of that relation, the establishment of slavery in the new territory, would be a real degradation to the free States. It would be an act of partiality, by which slave labor, which is confined to *a section*, would be exalted over free labor, which prevails more or less, and is protected throughout *the whole Union*. The free States demand that territory now free be maintained free; and freedom is the great common interest of *all the States*. Is not this *just*? The slave States demand that territory now free shall be open to slavery; but slavery is a *local* interest, only *one* of the interests of half of this Union. Is not the demand unjust?

The proviso "*unequal?*" How? It treats all the States, all the *citizens* of the States, precisely alike. It leaves the territory equally open to North and South. The great majority of Southern people hold no slaves. They are in the same condition as their brethren of the North and West. They all have an equal right to enter into the new territory, and equal rights when there. The slaveholders enjoy the same rights. They may not hold slaves there; but neither can immigrants from the *free* States. All have equal rights, equal privileges. Where is the inequality?

The worst that can be alleged by the two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, or rather that small portion of them that wish to emigrate, is, that the proviso will put them to some *inconvenience*. They will be obliged to sell their slaves before they go! But how much greater inconvenience would the existence of slavery be to the non-slaveholding immigrant, from the South as well as the North! The poor white man of the South, who, if the proviso become the law, may elevate himself to respectability and affluence in the new territory, will seek in vain to better his condition, should the proviso fail. The *toleration* of slavery would be a real trespass upon his rights, as well as a bar to emigration from the free States. The *exclusion of slavery would be a transient inconvenience* to the slaveholder, nothing more; in all cases, indeed, a permanent gain. At all events, it would not touch a single right he possesses. "What! not the right of carrying his 'property' where he pleases?" So far as "property" in his slaves is meant by the question, he has already no such right. He knows this. The act of 1787 necessarily involved the assumption that the slaveholders had no such right, for it excluded slavery from the Northwestern Territory. Could Congress have excluded *free* labor? The Missouri compromise, insisted upon, ratified by slaveholders, necessarily involved the assumption that the slaveholder has no such right; else why did it prohibit slavery in all territory north of 36 degrees 30 minutes? Does any one dream that Congress could pass an act prohibiting *free* labor, in any portion of American territory? The late attempt of the South Carolina delegation in the House, to obtain a vote extending the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific Ocean—an attempt planned by Mr. Calhoun himself, according to his own avowal—necessarily involved the assumption that the slaveholder has no such right. Who believes that, if such a right really existed, Mr. Calhoun and his friends would surrender it—voluntarily surrender it? What! would they surrender the right to carry their horses, cows, machinery, cotton, sugar, or tobacco, where they pleased? Finally, the concession universally made by the South, that no slaveholder can carry his slaves to a free State, and hold them there, and the decisions of all the courts of the Union, North and South, sustaining this position, necessarily involve the assumption that the slaveholder has no such right.

If there be any degradation, then, in the exclusion of slavery from the new territory which may be acquired by the United States, the South has been degraded again and again, and that, too, by her own act. But there can be no degradation where no right is invaded. The slaveholder has not the right to carry his slaves where he pleases. How, then, is he degraded by being prohibited from holding his slaves in a *free territory?* Not one jot or tittle more than he is degraded by being prohibited from holding his slaves in a *free State*.

No; he cannot elevate slavery to the same rank with liberty. The common sense of mankind, common law, all our institutions, the Federal Constitution, all the decisions of all the courts of the States and the Union, recognise freedom as the natural state of man—the law of his existence—and slavery as the exception. The State that chooses to establish slavery, or tolerate it, does so with a full knowledge that it is an exception; that it can claim nothing beyond State limits; that the rights conferred by it are unacknowledged by mankind—of force alone within the jurisdiction of the State. Having chosen slave labor, they must take it, with all its inherent, inseparable disabilities. And it is a monstrous absurdity to claim for a violent exception to a natural right the same scope and sacredness as belong to the right itself. Absurdity, we say, because the claim involves the total abrogation of that right.

Suppose banks of circulation were tolerated in the Northern States of this Union alone. Congress, in establishing a Territorial Government for Minnesota, provides that nothing in the act shall be construed as authorizing the "Legislature to create a banking system." What! say the Northern Representatives, will you degrade the States we represent? Exclude us from the advantages of a territory purchased by our common treasure? Treat us as if our States were not equal in rights to the non-banking States? Fasten a stigma upon our institutions?

Such clamor would be laughed at. Its ridiculous absurdity would be appreciated by none more quickly than by the representatives of the Southern States. But the clamor they are raising against Wilmot's proviso has not a particle more sense in it.

One thing must strike the mind of every reflecting man. Mr. Calhoun and his associates constantly proceed on the assumption that there is nothing in the South worth being cared for but slavery—nobody in the South but the slaveholder. Do they really imagine that the world can so far stultify itself as to agree with them? In Kentucky, where the number of small slaveholders is greater in proportion than in the Southern States, there are, according to the auditor's books, but 31,000 slaveholders out of a population of 275,000 whites *over 21 years of age*. The estimate is not too low, which reckons the whole number of slave-owners at two hundred and fifty thousand; the the total white population of the South, *over 21 years of age*, must be at least 1½ million of souls. But, according to Mr. Calhoun, the twelve hundred and fifty thousand Southern non-slaveholders are nonentities—the only real persons are the two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders!

Read his speech, published in to-day's *Era*. He is horror stricken at the idea of the extension of *free* territory, the multiplication of *free* States. The territory which the Administration proposes to acquire lies upon our Southwestern border. But, unless converted into *slave* territory, Mr. Calhoun will not acknowledge any States formed out of it to be *Southern* States. All *free* territory, no matter how far *South* on the *map*, is *North* to him; there is no *South* where *slavery* is not. California, New Mexico, when acquired, if the law of personal freedom be maintained there, will be converted into States, thoroughly democratic as it respects banking, protection, State rights, &c. But all this will go for nothing; because the two-edged sword of freedom, turning every way, will guard the entrance to this Paradise. If this be not *one idea-ism* of the meanest, most selfish, most contracted kind, we know not what is.

What a terrible calamity, that in process of time there should be twenty-eight *free* States in this Union! Alas for the Union, that it should be subjected to such a fearful hazard as this! Wo, wo to the Constitution, unless this dread consummation can be averted! What! fourteen new States to be added to the Union without the rich inheritance of slavery! Alas! for the great balance-wheel of the Constitution! What will become of the free States? The great deep will be broken up—chaos will come again—there will be a general insurrection of the mechanics and laboring men throughout the North and West, and one universal deluge of anarchy will roll over the Continent!

DECEPTIVE.

A few Democratic papers professed great devotion to the *principle* embodied in the proviso to the three million bill, but insisted that it should be brought forward in the form of a distinct proposition, so as not to embarrass the bill! We shall not impeach the motives of such papers, but we must say their policy had the *look* of treason with the mask of honesty. Presuming, however, with great charity, that it was a *blunder* on their part, we call their attention to the following extract of a speech made in the House by the Hon. Mr. Wentworth, some time before the final action on the three million bill:

"The cry that this proviso should come up as a separate bill, on its own merits, is as deceptive as was the kiss of Judas. Its friends have tried every honorable means to bring it before the House, and they still are anxious to take it up by itself; and then, when both Houses have passed it, and the President has signed it, its friends will be the last to embarrass the three million proposition. I call upon men making this cry to show their sincerity now while they have an opportunity, and I promise to aid them. I remember that Texas was rushed into the Union ahead of Oregon by a like deceptive cry. That secured, half of Oregon was given away. When Northern men objected to so much slave power in Texas, the cry was, "Oregon will balance it!" Now half of Oregon is gone to Great Britain, and the slave power claims the balance. Look at the vote in this House! It was purely sectional. And yet, with the fact staring us in the face, that the Senate committee have moved to strike out the free clause in the Oregon bill, we are again asked to "lie low and keep dark" upon the subject of slavery in California. I will do no such thing. On the contrary, I proclaim the alarm to the North, and tell it that, whilst the Wilmot proviso passed this House at the last session, there is danger, great danger, that the Herculean efforts made here to defeat it will prevail. The ayes and noes upon Mr. King's proposition show its fate when taken by itself; and it now must go with the three million bill, or free labor is shut out of the Californias forever."

HOW THEY ARE ESTIMATED.

We have from time to time made quotations from the sayings of Mr. Calhoun and his Southern friends, to show their profound contempt for the Democrats of the North and West, whom they are in the habit of using. We have another specimen from the same quarter, which we commend to the immortal EIGHTEEN from the free States. Just before the passage of the Wilmot proviso, the *Charleston Mercury*, a Calhoun paper, held the following highly respectful language:

"In the proceedings of the House there was only one thing worthy of note. The three million appropriation bill was up, and three of the four speakers who discussed it, all Northern Democrats, declared themselves opposed to the Wilmot proviso, prohibiting the introduction of slavery into the territory to be acquired from Mexico. The fourth, who differed from them, was Mr. Wilmot himself. There is something curious in this. Who has been tampering with the abolition convictions of these worthy gentlemen? We expect Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, who has been consistent on the slavery question from the first. The others have clearly been converted by somebody's exhortations. Who is the fortunate preacher?"

They have their reward!

MR. CORWIN.

The speech of this gentleman has produced a great sensation in the country. The Boston Courier, the Albany Evening Journal, and many other Whig papers of the most influential class, are republishing it from the Tribune. The truth is, he has given voice to the real sentiment of all the peace-loving people of the country. Some of the old Whig leaders in the Senate, who have plumed themselves upon the profound sagacity of a contradictory policy, affirming the war to be unconstitutional, unholy, unjust, and at the same time calling Heaven to witness the prompt zeal and liberality with which they have voted men and money to carry it on successfully, feel the speech of Corwin as a bitter rebuke. It would have been a rich consolation, could they have led him to believe that he had made a fool of himself. But he has the merit of consistency, which they have not. He has boldly *manifested* the *independence* of Executive power, which they have only boasted. He has the sympathy of every honest, enlightened lover of peace, which they have not. They have really taken great credit to themselves for a vast amount of *independence*, because they were bold enough to *talk* against the Executive, though they uniformly closed their fine flourishes by yielding all it demanded. They never could rise to the noble consistency of conforming their acts to their words. Corwin has set them an example, which, as they dare not follow, they are fain to censure as highly impolitic. Let Mr. Corwin maintain his ground. He has broken the shackles of leadership and authority: henceforth let him maintain his freedom. The Senate of the United States has been quite too long under the domination of a timid, flat Conservatism, which, after all, amounted to nothing more than the cold, selfish policy of a few individuals, forcing quiet and uniformity upon the rest, so that they might the more easily play their game for the Presidency. We are glad that one man on the Whig side, of talent sufficient to sustain himself, has vindicated his individuality; and no less rejoiced to see plain indications on the Democratic side, that the long usurped rule of a few dictators is about being broken. It should be recollected that the plain sense of Mr. Cilley, of New Hampshire, had led him to precisely the same conclusion at which Mr. Corwin has arrived, and that even before this demonstration he had taken an occasion to define his position.

We quote, from the *Boston Courier*, an article in which a great deal of strong truth is condensed in few words.

"The speech of Mr. Corwin, which will be found entire in our columns to-day, we trust will be read with satisfaction by every true-hearted American. All honor to the man who has thus fearlessly and frankly told the truth to a wicked Administration, and exposed to ridicule and contempt the hateful inconsistencies of those who condemn the Mexican war, and pronounce its author obnoxious to impeachment, and yet, with shameless disconformity, vote supplies of men and money to enable him to carry it on. We hope our Massachusetts Senators will take courage from the example of Mr. Corwin, and let the sentiments of their constituents be heard once more in that hall, where faintheartedness, or something which merits a severer name, seems to have sealed the lips that were wont to be eloquent on other topics, of no greater import to the welfare of the Commonwealth or the perpetuity of the Union. Mr. Webster, who seems to have been occupied nearly the whole session in the Supreme Court, has submitted two resolutions, on the discussion of which it is presumed he will expose the turpitude of the President, and exhibit the motives which have led to this war, in all the blackness of their diabolical deformity. It is hoped, too, that Mr. Davis will not suffer his present term of service to expire, without an exposition of his detestation of the meanness of the Administration, and of that contemptible paradox to which many of the Whigs in Congress have been gospeled by the Claytons and the Crittendens, who, while they have, by their tongues, condemned the war, by their hands have supported and encouraged it. The miserable arguments by which those panders to executive authority have attempted to justify their incongruous conduct, are unworthy of statesmen, and suited only to be addressed to such as have no power to discover the difference between two discrepant and contradictory propositions."

DANGER TO THE REPUBLIC.

By the report of the Adjutant General it appears that fourteen field officers are disqualified for service in the army of the United States. Some of them have done no service for six or seven years. Of the whole number of chaplains in the navy, not one, as remarked in a former article, can be found in the Gulf squadron. It is notorious that there are many naval officers who have not been to sea for years. And yet all these have been drawing full pay—some at the rate of from $1,200 to $2,000 a year, others at the rate of from $2,000 to $3,000. Of no possible use, they live in idleness upon the hard earnings of the people—paupers upon the national Treasury.

The vast increase of the expenditures of the Government, from year to year, since the first Administration, has taken place chiefly in the War and Navy Departments. Abuses of the grossest character have sprung up, and gathered strength by toleration, so as to be almost beyond the reach of reform. Small as are the army and navy, they are already powerful enough to defy investigation. Men in high places have deep personal interests in these establishments. Members of Congress have relatives and friends, who would be greatly incommoded by any thing like a radical reformation. All attempts to inquire into abuses are met by out-door influences from all quarters, and instantly suppressed. Officers of the army and navy constitute, in fact, a selfish, arrogant aristocracy, pluming themselves upon their *rank*, despising honest labor, and united, as one man, in a fixed resolve, to perpetuate their exclusive privileges.

In the early history of the country, the American People could not tolerate the idea of a standing army: they knew that an institution, the vital element of which was concentrated despotism, and which must always be separated in habits and sympathies from the people, must forever be a foe to democratic institutions. But, once allow foothold to an evil system, and it will accumulate power insensibly. Ambitious men, who hate labor, have been always on the watch to augment an establishment which secured high rank, much emolument, and little work. A foundation has accordingly been already laid for an indefinite augmentation of the navy—and at length a rapid stride has been made towards a vast standing army. It is well known that the President was lavish in his praise of the bravery and efficiency of the volunteer troops; and General Taylor, in his despatches, complimented them in unqualified terms. But, a new light has broken upon the Administration. It sends a message to Congress, asking for authority to raise 10,000 additional recruits for the regular army. Already it numbers seventeen thousand men; but the Executive wants twenty-seven thousand, besides the thirty thousand volunteers. For weeks was the bill, authorizing this addition to the standing army, before Congress. Meantime, the Capitol has been swarming with cormorant office-seekers. Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together. The Committee on Military Affairs has been besieged night and day. The President has no respite. Attempts were made in the House to change the terms of the bill, so as to provide for raising volunteers, instead of an addition to the regular army, thus taking from the President the power of appointing to hundreds of new offices. But, the would-be colonels and majors who thronged every avenue of the Capitol, and hovered about members of Congress like evil spirits, plied, of course, every engine; and other adverse influences were brought to bear against the proposed change. It was defeated in the House; and in the Senate, too, a similar proposition has failed. We are then to have a standing army of twenty-seven thousand men; ten thousand being enlisted only for the war! Only for the war? We shall see. Ten thousand men sufficed to guard the frontiers before Texas was annexed, and Oregon occupied, and New Mexico and California were conquered. But the acquisition of these immense regions gives a vast additional boundary, brings us in contact with numerous tribes of hostile savages, exposes our borders to new perils. And is it not likely that a pretext will be found in all this for keeping up the army, even though war with Mexico should be terminated? The five or six hundred additional officers, with their dear friends in Congress, will oppose any reduction of the establishment, and their arts and struggles will be favored by the lust of military glory and conquest begotten among the people by a war of aggression and spoliation. If it has been found impossible to reach the abuses of the army when it was but eight thousand strong, what an overshadowing power will it have when raised to twenty-seven thousand! Meantime, a Government bank has been established, an enormous debt contracted, the necessity of an increased tariff created, the patronage of the Executive augmented beyond measure, a vast standing army fastened upon the vitals of the country; and all this has been done by a so-called Democratic President, with the fixed purpose of extending slavery over wide-spread regions whose fundamental law is freedom.

We ask sober-minded Democrats, Do you recognise these as Democratic measures—Democratic triumphs? What will you do? Abandon and dishonor your Principles, or give up your President? Do you really believe that *he* is a fair representative of Democracy? To which has he demonstrated his attachment and loyalty—Democracy or Slavery?

☞ Since this article was written, another bill has been introduced in both Houses, creating an additional number of general officers.

THE WILMOT PROVISO.

The battle on the Wilmot Proviso was a well fought one. The yeas and nays cannot be called in Committee of the Whole, so that it is comparatively easy to kill a measure there, which would be carried, if members were compelled to show their hands.

The point raised by Mr. DROMGOOLE, of Virginia, that the proviso was not in order, and his appeal from the decision of the Chair, was a movement designed to give Northern members, disposed to betray their constituents, an opportunity of doing so without being held to accountability. If asked why they voted to sustain the appeal, they might answer, "Not from hostility to the proviso, but from a determination to maintain the rules."

To fasten responsibility upon the members from the free States, tellers were demanded on every such insidious movement; and those who were suspected were carefully watched. But, even this might have failed to secure the passage of the proviso through the Committee, if it had not been for some of the Southern Whigs, who either refused to vote, or voted in the affirmative, for the purpose of getting the proviso reported, so that it might be acted on in the House, where the yeas and nays could be demanded. Their object was probably two-fold—to compel the Northern members to *make their mark*, and to secure a "speedy and honorable peace," by rendering the further prosecution of the war utterly distasteful to the Administration.

The *Union* fiercely denounces this policy; but is it really simple enough to suppose those Southern representatives will not be able to explain the whole transaction to their constituents?

These Southerners deserve the thanks of the "Democracy" of the free States, and of the people of the whole country, for acting in such a way as to bring this important question to a fair vote, thereby preventing treachery from working in the dark, and fixing responsibility upon every member of the House.

The *New York Express* publishes a letter from its Washington correspondent, from which we quote the following, black marks and all, just as we find it in that paper:

"The vote from New York, therefore, is THIRTY-FIVE FOR FREEDOM, and *Stephen Strong for Slavery!* The following, however, is the Black List complete; and it is a sad reminiscence to know that there were less votes from the free States, in 1820, for the Missouri compromise, than there are now from the free States. Twenty-seven years have therefore, this being a test, added but little to the free sentiment of the country, as declared through its representatives.

BLACK LIST.

STEPHEN STRONG,	New York.
RICHARD BRODHEAD,	Pennsylvania.
JAMES BLACK,	Pennsylvania.
JACOB ERDMAN,	Pennsylvania.
C. J. INGERSOLL,	Pennsylvania.
MOSES McCLEAN,	Pennsylvania.
F. A. CUNNINGHAM,	Ohio.
JOSEPH MORRIS,	Ohio.
ISAAC PARISH,	Ohio.
WILLIAM SAWYER,	Ohio.
HENRY ST. JOHN,	Ohio.
WM. W. WICK,	Indiana.
R. D. OWEN,	Indiana.
JOHN S. CHIPMAN,	Michigan.
ORLANDO FICKLIN,	Illinois.
J. A. McCLERNAND,	Illinois.
STEPH. A. DOUGLASS,	Illinois.

I believe these are all. Should there be more, I will send the additions, for the insertion of a perfect list. The members who thus voted for putting limits to the landmarks of free territory, no doubt expect immortality. Let them have it from every legislative assembly, in every free press, and in a lasting remembrance with every free citizen in every free State. How like a serpent's sting must be the rebuke so often rung through the hall for many days past, "There are no traitors in the South."

The absentees upon the vote were only five members, and the following are their names:

Clinton Hastings, Iowa, present.
Shepherd Leffler, Iowa, present.
Owen D. Leib, Pennsylvania,
Robert Smith, Illinois, present.
W. F. Giles, Maryland.

The vote was 115 for the Proviso to 106 against it—221 members, or 226 in all.

The success of a principle like this, is glory enough for one day. It ought to be a subject of rejoicing *in all the land;* for if slavery be an evil, what wise man, what good man, could wish to multiply such an evil? Though all the members from the slave States voted against the Proviso, there are many members from these States indifferent to the result—some, I believe, who are even glad that such a declaration has gone forth from the representatives of the people.

To all the members from the free States, whose hearts and judgments act in harmony, it is a subject of great joy that this triumph for freedom has been achieved. "I thank God," was the utterance from many hearts to-day. Mr. Adams was asked, if he would vote for the three million appropriation now? "Yes," said he, "for the sake of the nectar you have infused into the Proviso."

We find in the New York Tribune an analysis of the vote by which the Proviso was adopted, which saves us the trouble of preparing one ourselves. The Whigs are in Italics. It will be observed that the Representative from Delaware voted with the free States.

YEAS—(*For the Proviso.*)

MAINE—R. P. Dunlap, H. Hamlin, J. D. McCrate, C. Sawtelle, J. F. Scammon, *Luther Severance*, H. Williams—7.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—James H. Johnson, Mace Moulton, Moses Norris—3.

MASSACHUSETTS—*John Q. Adams, Amos Abbott, George Ashmun, Joseph Grinnell, A. Hale, Charles Hudson, D. P. King, J. Rockwell, Benjamin Thompson, R. C. Winthrop*—10.

RHODE ISLAND—*L. H. Arnold, H. Y. Cranston*—2.

CONNECTICUT—*James Dixon, S. D. Hubbard, J. A. Rockwell, Truman Smith*—4.

VERMONT—*Jacob Collamer*, P. Dillingham, jun., *Solomon Foot, George P. Marsh*—4.

NEW YORK—J. H. Anderson, C. S. Benton, W. W. CAMPBELL, *Charles H. Carroll*, John F. Collin, *E. D. Culver*, John De Mott, S. S. Ellsworth, C. Goodyear, S. Gordon, Martin Grover, *E. B. Holmes*, William J. Hough, O. Hungerford, *Washington Hunt*, Timothy Jenkins, Preston King, J. W. Lawrence, *Abner Lewis*, W. B. Maclay, W. S. MILLER, *W. A. Moseley*, A. C. Niven, G. Rathbun, *Thomas C. Ripley*, Joseph Russell, H. I. SEAMAN, *A. Smith*, H. Wheaton, *Hugh White*, B. R. Wood, T. M. WOODRUFF, W. W. WOODWORTH—33.

NEW JERSEY—J. E. Edsall, *J. G. Hampton, J. Runk*, George Sykes, *William Wright*—5.

PENNSYLVANIA—*John Blanchard, Joseph Buffington*, JOHN H. CAMPBELL, *C. Darrah, J. H. Ewing*, William S. Garvin, *J. R. Ingersoll*, L. C. LEVIN, *A. R. McIlvaine, James Pollock, Alexander Ramsey*, John Ritter, *Andrew Stewart, John Strohm*, David Wilmot, Jacob S. Yost—16.

DELAWARE—*John W. Houston*—[HUZZA!]—1.

OHIO—Jacob Brinkerhoff, J. D. Cummins, *C. Delano*, James J. Faran, George Fries, *Joshua R. Giddings, Alexander Harper*, Jos. J. McDowell, A. L. Perrill, *Joseph M. Root, R. C. Schenck*, D. A. Starkweather, Allen G. Thurman, *Daniel R. Tilden, Joseph Vance, Samuel F. Vinton*—16.

INDIANA—Charles W. Cathcart, T. J. Henley, Andrew Kennedy, *E. W. McGaughey*, John Pettit, Thomas Smith, *Caleb B. Smith*—7.

ILLINOIS—*John Henry*, Joseph P. Hoge, John Wentworth—3.

MICHIGAN—James B. Hunt, R. McClelland—2.

Total, 115—(114 from free, 1 from a slave State.)

NAYS—(AGAINST *the Proviso.*)

NEW YORK—Stephen Strong!!—1.

PENNSYLVANIA—James Black, Richard Brodhead!!! Jacob Erdman, Henry D. Foster, Ch. J. Ingersoll, Moses McClean—6.

OHIO—F. A. Cunningham, Joseph Morris, Isaac Parish, William Sawyer!!! Henry St. John—5.

INDIANA—R. Dale Owen, Wm. W. Wick—2.

ILLINOIS—Stephen A. Douglass, O. B. Ficklin, John A. McClernand—3.

MICHIGAN—John S. Chipman—1.

MARYLAND—*John G. Chapman*, Thos. W. Ligon, *Edward Long*, Thomas Perry—4.

VIRGINIA—Archibald Atkinson, T. H. Bayly, Henry Bedinger, W. G. Brown, A. A. Chapman, George C. Dromgoole, George W. Hopkins, E. D. Hubard, R. M. T. Hunter, Joseph Johnson, S. F. Leake, James McDowell, *John S. Pendleton*, James A. Seddon, William M. Tredway—15.

NORTH CAROLINA—*Daniel M. Barringer*, Asa Biggs, Henry S. Clarke, John R. J. Daniel, James C. Dobbin, *Alfred Dockery, James Graham*, James J. McKay, David S. Reid—9.

SOUTH CAROLINA—James A. Black, Armistead Burt, Isaac E. Holmes, R. Barnwell Rhett, A. D. Sims, R. F. Simpson, J. A. Woodward—7.

GEORGIA—Howell Cobb, Hugh A. Haralson, Seaborn Jones, *Thomas Butler King*, J. H. Lumpkin, *A. H. Stephens, Robert Toombs*, George W. Towns—8.

ALABAMA—F. W. Bowdon, Reuben Chapman, J. L. F. Cottrell, E. S. Dargan, *Henry W. Hilliard*, G. S. Houston, William W. Payne—7.

MISSISSIPPI—Stephen Adams, Henry T. Ellett, R. W. Roberts, Jacob Thompson—4.

FLORIDA—William H. Brockenbrough—1.

LOUISIANA—J. H. Harmanson, Emile La Sere, Isaac E. Morse, *Bannon G. Thibodeaux*—4.

KENTUCKY—*Joshua F. Bell*, Linn Boyd, *Garrett Davis, Henry Grider*, John P. Martin, *J. H. McHenry, W. P. Thomasson*, John W. Tibbatts, *A. Trumbo, Bryan R. Young*—10.

TENNESSEE—*Milton Brown*, Lucien B. Chase, *W. M. Cocke, John H. Crozier*, Alvan Cullom, *E. H. Ewing, Meredith P. Gentry*, Andrew Johnson, George W. Jones, Barclay Martin, Frederick P. Stanton—11.

MISSOURI—James B. Bowlin, W. M. McDaniel, John S. Phelps, James H. Relfe, Leonard H. Sims—5.

ARKANSAS—*Thomas W. Newton*—1.

TEXAS—David S. Kaufman, T. Pillsbury—2.

Total 106—18 from free, 88 from slave States.

THE TACTICS OF MR. CALHOUN.

January 8th, 1838, Mr. Calhoun moved in the Senate of the United States a series of resolutions respecting the rights of the States, their equality, and the relations of slavery to the Constitution. It dragged its slow length along till some time in February, when, having been amended in many points, it was adopted. What were his objects? To suppress the anti-slavery movement—to bulwark the system of slavery by Senatorial authority—to drive Mr. Clay, his great rival, and other presidential aspirants, from the ground of compromise, into a position where their votes would loosen their hold upon either the North or the South—and finally to secure for himself the united support of the slaveholding interest. We do not judge dogmatically; but from the general principles and course of action of Mr. Calhoun, and circumstances then existing, we infer that these were his objects. Were they accomplished? Not one. The anti-slavery movement did not suffer even a check—Senatorial authority has not been able to withstand the operation of great natural causes and the spirit of the age—Mr. Calhoun was not nominated for the Presidency, but a citizen from a free State was chosen to that high office.

Some time in the year 1842 or 1843, we believe, the great resolutionist again appeared, with a new set of affirmations concerning the slave trade, under the American flag, upon the high seas. They were but abstractions, and were passed. What did they accomplish? Nothing—no concession from the British Government—no efficient pro-slavery action on the part of our own Government—nor did they embarrass Mr. Clay, or secure to Mr. Calhoun the Baltimore nomination.

An ordinary man would now have abandoned resolutions; but Mr. Calhoun never tires.

February 19th, 1847, we find him in the Senate again moving a series of resolutions, after the old pattern, but modified so as to apply to a new set of circumstances. We publish them, together with his speech introducing them, in another column. Why bring forward these resolutions? The three million bill, with the obnoxious proviso, against which these abstractions are intended to bear, is before the Senate, and will soon present an occasion for the South to render a practical decision. Resolutions will not help the matter.

There are no less than eight gentlemen, on both sides of the Senate chamber, from the North and South, talked of as candidates for the presidency—many of them with stronger hopes of success than Mr. Calhoun. Suppose the ground of compromise be knocked from under them—that they be compelled to make their mark upon the question at issue between slavery and freedom—to say *yea* or *nay* on these pro-slavery resolutions of South Carolina—to say the least, many of them would be disabled, and all involved in the same predicament with Mr. Calhoun. Note the passage between this gentleman and Mr. Benton—the latter clearly understood the design of this movement of the South Carolinian, and denounced it as a "firebrand."

We doubt whether these resolutions will pass. The Senate may conclude that it has been called upon often enough to affirm abstractions. Perhaps members may think themselves sufficiently established in the confidence of their respective States, to act independently, and refuse the inquisition to which Mr. Calhoun proposes to subject their principles. Perhaps these resolutions may be permitted to repose undisturbed, and disturbing nobody, on the table. We shall see.

Meantime, let us not be charged with doing injustice to the South Carolina Senator. His ambition is intense, but not grovelling. We have no doubt that he most intimately associates in his own mind the good of his country with the elevation of himself. His logical mind revolts at a gross inconsistency. He is not the man to condemn in word what he allows in act—to concede that slavery is a wrong and a great evil, while he himself is a slaveholder. He justifies himself on principle. His theory is, that slavery is the only proper relation between the African and Caucasian races, where thrown together—that it is the proper species of labor in the tropical climates—that it is the great source of the wealth of the South, and promotes its high spirit and love of freedom—and that it is the grand conservative element of the Union and its Constitution. With such views, it is natural that he should seek continually its perpetuation; and, being a man of strong ambition, seek, through its influence, to reach the highest office in the republic—not alone for his self-gratification, but also that he may bring the whole power of the Federal Government to bear for the augmentation of its power. The probability is, that he will appear before the American people as a presidential candidate, independently of any national convention. If so, he would stand as the representative of the perpetual slavery men—the embodiment of the principle of eternal slavery. Can such a man ever hope for the suffrages of a people, who, every year for the last half century, have been solemnly proclaiming that all men are created equal?

"SPICY."

We are apt to distrust what are called "spicy" papers. They are not often strong, just, or truthful. Paragraphs, whose point depends on misrepresentation, strong assertion, broad caricature, coarse abuse, are all deemed "spicy" by a certain class of people. Careful statement, sober argument, measured censure or denunciation, they cannot appreciate. Obtuse in perception and sensibility, they can relish nothing but the loud tones and desperate flourishes of the bully.

Reason may be cogent, powerful, vehement—it is never violent or abusive. It relies upon demonstration, not cursing and bitterness. Real intellectual power borrows no aid from extravagant phraseology. It is not verbose; it utters its conceptions strongly, but calmly; it strikes without blustering; its weapons are at once keen and polished.

A weak but violent speaker relies upon tremendous effort of head, hands, and heels, to produce an effect. The fewer his ideas, the more noise he makes. So, a weak but violent writer always agonizes. His rhetoric is hysterical. The English language is tortured into extravagant hyperbole, as if any language could supply the want of ideas. And yet this violent weakness, which reminds one of the desperate struggles of the motionless sleeper to overcome the nightmare, passes with some as evidence of strong thought and deep feeling!

POLICY—PRINCIPLE—WHAT MIGHT BE.

When the President first announced that Americans and Mexicans had met in hostile encounter, on the banks of the Rio Grande, and his friends introduced in Congress a bill declaring, in its preamble, that war existed between Mexico and the United States, by the act of the former, two modes of action presented themselves to the opponents of the war—one of party policy, the other of principle. It was a critical moment—a grand opportunity for the exhibition of noble daring. A favorite General of the American people, with his soldiers, was reported to be surrounded by enemies. His peril was exaggerated. The honor of the national flag was in jeopardy. The martial spirit of the country was aroused. The public press gave voice to a fiery, headlong, uninquiring patriotism.

On the other hand, it was affirmed by the Whigs that the President had usurped power in occupying by the army of the United States the line of disputed territory between Mexico and Texas—that the immediate cause of the war was his own act, directing General Taylor to march from Corpus Christi to the Rio Grande; that the bill, therefore, embodied in its preamble a positive falsehood.

There were many honorable men, Christian men, in Congress. What should they do? If they voted against the bill, they must encounter the press and the people, the fierce anathemas of a misguided but burning patriotism; they might seal their own political doom, and the fate of the party with which they acted. If they voted for the bill, they would affirm what they believed to be a falsehood—they would stand self-condemned at the bar of posterity, for having done what in them lay to impose a falsehood upon history—they would become supporters of an act of Executive despotism of fearful precedent, and assume with him the responsibility of a war, which they held to be aggressive, and therefore violative of every principle of justice.

It was a time to try men's souls—a crisis in which single-eyed, courageous devotion to the Right, might have commanded instant peace, rebuked Executive usurpation with such power as to have forever prevented its repetition, established the virtue and honor of the Government on a perpetual basis. What a triumph might here have been achieved by principle—ay, would have been! For, as we now know, General Taylor was abundantly able to extricate himself from the perilous position in which obedience to the instructions of the President had placed him. A resolution then passed by Congress, directing the President to desist from the attempt to occupy the disputed territory, and withdraw the army, would have re-settled things upon their original basis. But, in an evil hour, party policy triumphed, principle was disregarded, a falsehood was voted, a wicked war endorsed, the assumption of unconstitutional power by the Executive enforced; and now the country is involved in a struggle which is debauching the youth of the nation, wasting our energies, accumulating debt, concentrating power in the central Government, especially the Executive department—a struggle with a weak, distracted sister republic, in which no victory won by us can bring glory to our arms, while it postpones the hour of reconciliation—a struggle over which hang clouds and darkness, and fearful apprehension of coming calamities.

Evil begets evil, and "Things bad begun, make strong themselves by ill." That one wrong step has plunged the opponents of the war into irretrievable difficulties. (We except, of course, the Spartan band of fourteen members in the House who voted against the bill, and Mr. Calhoun, who stood in the Senate, almost single-handed, against it.) They feel bound in *consistency* to support a war they assumed; while conscience and the good of their country and *party policy* require them to expose and denounce the usurpation and aggression which originated it, and the object for which it is waged. The singular, astounding spectacle is thus presented to the world, of a body of men arguing one way and voting another; supporting that which they condemn; denouncing that to be false which they solemnly affirmed to be fact.

Would to God that our politicians dared to act out their convictions of duty? Why cannot men rely upon the Right, live for the Truth, die for the Truth? Who shall harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good. The Government is not our country; party is not our country; nor is our country our God. Duty to our Maker—in other words, justice—may demand that we stand up in the face of our country, and resist her wrong doing; and Principle may command the abandonment of even party. It is in scenes of peril, in exigencies of great moment, that *the Man* is called upon to appeal to his own convictions; to rely upon his own decisions. Then, when his conscience and his God are his only counsellors, he can look down upon party spirit and popular indignation, and feel tranquil in the consciousness that knows no guilt.

How easy it were to act like honest men! However it may have been in the beginning of the war, now, evidently, it would cost nothing to be honest. The American army has triumphed, with far inferior numbers, in the open field, in the deadly defile, against the almost impregnable city. Mexico has been humbled, stricken to the dust. Two-thirds of her territory is in our occupation. We are in the plentitude of our power, united, inexhaustible in resources. She is sunk so low that none do her reverence. Her commerce destroyed; her ports in our possession; with no force in the field to make head against our armies; she stands tottering on the brink of destruction.

How easy to be magnanimous! Withdraw our armies to American territory; call home the squadron. Let us say to her that conquest is not our aim; her territory shall not be dismembered; let strife cease between us; let perpetual peace and concord reign. It would be such a spectacle as earth has never witnessed—a sublime example of justice and moderation, to be emulated in all future ages—such a demonstration of the ennobling influences of Democratic institutions as would command the admiration of the nations of the old world, and more than realize the brightest dreams of the authors and supporters of the principle of self-government: while Mexico herself would be regenerated, restored, secured as our fast friend forever.

As it is, this great nation is acting precisely like a bully, who has got his adversary under, and is beating him for no other than the glorious purpose of making him cry, *enough!* It is a vulgar feeling of insolent triumph—a mean disposition to extort an acknowledgment of our superior *brute* force, that can take any pleasure in the continuance of the war with Mexico.

REVIEW.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MAGIC, PRODIGIES, AND APPARENT MIRACLES. From the French of EUSEBE SALVERTE. With Notes, &c., by Anthony Todd Thompson, F. L. S., &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

M. Salverte has given to the world in this book, a very curious and interesting work, replete with evidence of research and ingenuity. His object is to explain the magic, prodigies, and miracles of ancient times; to show that they were the offspring of an occult science for which we have given too little credit to the ancients. The general principles which regulated his inquiries were these:

1. Where the improbability of a fact is the chief objection to the belief in its reality, the evidence which attests it regains its value, if the improbability be proved to be only apparent. Can a similar test be applied with success to the greater part of the prodigies and assumed miracles related by the ancients?

2. Ancient science was confined to the temples, and was used to acquire and secure an ascendency over the popular mind, by exciting its superstition. In the wonderful recitals that have been handed down to us, much of this science may be discovered.

The original work of *Salverte* applies as well to the miracles of the Bible as to those of the heathen temple. With the boldness characteristic of the French school of philosophy, he attempts to explain, upon natural principles, the miracles recorded by Inspiration, seeing in them nothing more wonderful than in the prodigies of the magician. We regret that the editor, Dr. Thompson, has seen fit to expunge from the translation all passages relating to the Sacred Volume, and to change even the title of the work, by substituting the words "apparent miracles" for the word "miracles." We have always protested, and always shall protest, against this practice of mutilating an author. If the editor were impressed with the dangerous tendencies of the work, and yet believed that it contained matter highly instructive or beneficial, he should have written a work himself, announcing that he had taken Salverte for his guide, and incorporated in it his researches and arguments. As it is, the truth of history is violated. The French philosopher is represented as being the author of a work he never wrote. No man has a right thus to tamper with an author. Away with all expurgation; let us see a writer in his real character. Allow the public to judge for themselves. If fearful of the tendencies of certain passages, append notes, but do not mutilate the original text, and make us believe what is really a falsehood.

Still, the work, even in its present form, is highly instructive, and throws light upon many marvellous facts and events. It is published in two volumes, in the neat and substantial style characteristic of the Harper publications.

PLEASURES OF TASTE, AND OTHER STORIES. From the writings of Miss JANE TAYLOR. With a Sketch of her Life, by Mrs. Sarah J. Hale. Harper & Brothers, publishers, New York. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

Few authors have written more to the purpose than Miss Jane Taylor. This selection from her writings is designed for young people, but it will be read with as much interest by the old as by the young. The volume consists of a series of stories, piquantly told, illustrative of practical truths—stories in which wisdom has allied itself to wit, and availed itself of all the resources of an agreeable fancy.

RAMBLES ABOUT THE COUNTRY. By Mrs. E. F. ELLETT. Harper & Brothers, publishers, New York. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

Mrs. Ellett has attempted successfully, in this little work, to show that we have scenery in this country as beautiful and attractive as any in foreign lands, although most of it is unobserved, or deemed commonplace. She has an eye and a heart for Nature, and her descriptions are delightful, sometimes highly wrought, and occasionally enlivened by agreeable incidents.

But we confess she seems to us rather poetical in her portraiture of life on a Southern plantation. In other words, we believe she draws mere fancy sketches. Man shall not live by bread alone—or even by pork and hommony. Mrs. Ellett thinks the slaves wonderfully happy, because they have more to eat than the "poor white folks," and on certain holydays can dress themselves in the cast-off finery of their beloved masters and mistresses. Pshaw!

HISTORY OF THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS, &c., &c. Translated from the German of Frederic Schiller, by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

A late writer remarks that there is a great difference between a French and a German historian, in relation to their manner of proceeding. The latter, when he meditates the production of a great work, spends ten years in gathering materials, another ten in reading them, and ten more in digesting them and giving them shape; while in France, and to some extent in England, the historian makes others do the drudgery, and attends to the formative process himself.

Whether *Schiller* occupied thirty years in the production of this History of the Revolt in the Netherlands, we know not; but it is manifest that he must have explored a vast field of documents and authorities, and at the same time maintained the elasticity of his mind amid all the tedious drudgery of minute and extended research.

The work is a fine combination of clear narrative, warm description, and philosophical reflection. The event which constitutes its theme is one which must ever awaken the most generous interest in the heart that hates tyranny, and sympathizes with the cause of popular freedom. The revolt of the Netherlands, and their triumphant vindication of their independence, during a struggle of half a century, against the formidable power of Philip II, whose armies were unrivalled in discipline, whose treasures were inexhaustible, whose pride was indomitable, is, as the author well remarks, "one of the most remarkable political events which have rendered the sixteenth century among the brightest of the world's epochs." What invests it with a still higher interest and importance is its association with the reformation—with the cause of religious liberty.

This work constitutes the 21st volume of Harper's New Miscellany; is handsomely printed, and substantially bound.

THE LIVES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AND AMERICUS VESPUCIUS. With Engravings. Harper & Brothers, publishers, New York.

THE LIVES OF VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA, HERNANDO CORTEZ, AND FRANCISCO PIZARRO. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

These are two duodecimo volumes, well got up, wisely adapted to the taste of young people, and calculated to benefit them far more than much of the cheap fiction which is constantly filling their heads with false ideas of life and duty. The biography of men distinguished for their great activity, their adventures, or association with remarka-

ble events, if written with simplicity and earnestness, are always captivating to the young mind. Around the names of Columbus, and those who followed him in the career of discovery, is thrown an air of romance. Their unbounded enterprise and daring, the perils they encountered, the sufferings they endured, the exploits they performed, the wonderful changes in the world's condition wrought by their agency, cast in the shade the wonders of fiction, and fill the youthful imagination with exalted conceptions of what may be accomplished by men of inflexible will and enduring patience.

The London Quarterly Review. For December, 1846. Leonard Scott & Co., New York. W. Adams, agent, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

Westminster Review. January, 1847. Leonard Scott & Co., publishers, New York. Agent, as above.

We shall notice these Quarterlies in our next. All we have now room to say is, that they contain many articles invaluable for their facts, and of great ability.

A Sketch of the Life of John McLean, of Ohio. For sale by Brooke, Shillington, & Co., corner of Penn. avenue and 15th street.

This is a highly interesting pamphlet, and we shall try to notice it in our next.

For the receipt of the following speeches, we are under obligation to their authors, respectively.

Speech of W. L. Dayton, of New Jersey, on the Mexican War; in Senate, January 27, 1847.

John Pettit, of Indiana, on the Oregon Territorial Bill; in the House, January 14, 1847.

Luther Severance, of Maine, on the Mexican War; in the House, February 4, 1847.

George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, on the Mexican War; in the House, February 4, 1847.

Columbus Delano, of Ohio, on the Mexican War; in the House, February 2, 1847.

We have also received the following publications, for which their authors will accept our thanks. Some of them we shall notice more particularly hereafter:

An Argument, by Salman P. Chase, Esq., before the Supreme Court, at the December term, 1846.

Argument of W. H. Seward, on the law of Congress concerning the recapture of fugitives from service.

Twelfth Annual Report of the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association, Cincinnati.

Our Country, the Herald of a New Era, by Rev. Charles B. Boynton. Cincinnati.

Address before the Aurora Horticultural Society, by David Thomas, Esq., Auburn, New York.

Unity and Peace, a Sermon, by John Weiss, Watertown, Massachusetts.

Oration before the New England Society in the city of New York, by Charles W. Upham, December 22, 1846.

A Thanksgiving Sermon. By the Pastor of the Central Congregational Church, Worcester, Mass.

The One Progressive Principle. By J. T. Headley. An Address, second edition. New York.

The Bible Society and Evangelical Alliance. An Address. By Thomas H. Stockton.

Papers on the Slave Power. By J. G. Palfrey, Boston.

Common Schools of Ohio. Report of the Secretary of State.

☞ The following editorial was crowded out last week.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION AMONG ANTI-SLAVERY MEN.

The Declaration of Sentiments put forth by the anti-slavery men who formed the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1832-'33, disclaimed any intention to invoke the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the States. "We *fully and unanimously* recognise (say the signers) the sovereignty of each State, to legislate *exclusively* on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its limits. We concede that Congress, *under the present national compact*, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States, in relation to this momentous subject." Up to the year 1840, this was the doctrine of anti-slavery men, with two or three exceptions; and their great object was declared to be, by agitation and discussion, to change public sentiment at the North, so as to counteract the influence of slavery over Northern mind and institutions; and to change public sentiment at the South, so as to induce abolition there, by the use of the constitutional means in the hands of its own citizens.

As they constituted a moral reform party, they were not led to examine critically the relations of the Federal Constitution to slavery, and their political responsibilities in regard to it.

During this agitation, however, the controlling influence of the evil over the Federal Government, and over the two great political parties which from time to time administered its functions, was gradually made manifest, till, in the year 1839, a political party, consisting mainly of a portion of the abolitionists, was organized, with a view to meet and subvert this influence.

Within a few years, this party had absorbed the majority of the members of the anti-slavery societies, and also obtained accessions from the old political parties. Of the remaining abolitionists, some were merged in the Whig or Democratic party, and the rest, under the guidance chiefly of William Lloyd Garrison, continued their organization as *moral* suasionists.

Up to the time of their separation, the view of the Constitution entertained by abolitionists generally was, that it was in its spirit, principles, and scope, an anti-slavery instrument; but that there were in it certain compromises respecting slavery, exceptional in character, though involving no such positive obligation to support slavery, as would bind any one holding office under it to commit a wrong act.

Among the moral suasionists were three classes of persons—those who held simply that a political anti-slavery party was entirely inexpedient and injurious; those who believed all human government to be wrong in principle; and those who, not concurring with the second class, still regarded the Constitution of the United States as a pro-slavery instrument, which no one could support or sanction without being implicated in the responsibility of upholding slavery. The second class, to which Mr. Garrison belonged, became at once the controlling element of the moral-suasion abolitionists, but it united with the third class in condemning political anti-slavery action, chiefly on the ground of the pro-slavery character of the Federal Constitution.

Owing to causes it would be unprofitable to mention, the American Anti-Slavery Society felt it its duty to engage in a systematic effort to destroy, if possible, the political organization—*the Liberty party*. For the last five years, it would be difficult to say against which it has directed its fiercer assaults—the Slaveholders or the Liberty men. Knowing that these men generally were conscientious, and in the habit of recognising the duty of strict adherence to right, it became the great aim of the Society to demonstrate that the Constitution was essentially framed for the support of slavery; and that several of its provisions imposed duties upon all holding office under it, to countenance or give force to slavery in certain cases. Hence the inference, that no man who believed this system a sin could with a good conscience either support a candidate for office, or be himself a candidate. If this view of the Constitution should prevail, it would of course put an end to an anti-slavery political party. This policy, together with the continual claim put forth by the South, that slavery was protected by certain constitutional guaranties, drove the Liberty men to become students of the Constitution.

At first, the majority of them saw no reason to abandon the position held by anti-slavery men from the commencement of their movement—that the Constitution, in its tone and general tenor, was anti-slavery, but that there were in it certain exceptional provisions. These, they held, did not impose upon them any duty in conflict with their anti-slavery principles, whether as voters or legislators. The clause tolerating the foreign slave trade till the year 1808, so far as it permitted what was wrong, had exhausted itself, and was no longer in force. The provision in regard to slave representation was a simple recognition of the existence of a slave population, and of the principle that a State containing it ought to be deprived of a certain portion of political power. The provision relative to fugitives from service or labor was strictly a clause of compact, *a stipulation between the States*, and conferred no power, imposed no duty, on the Federal Legislature to legislate upon the subject. An anti-slavery Representative or Senator elect could therefore take the usual oath of office, without bringing himself under an obligation to do anything contrary to his peculiar principles.

But, as the contest between the American Anti-Slavery Society and Liberty men in the East grew warmer, the tendency in each was to take stronger and stronger ground on its own side. The Society at last reached the last point of progress in its abhorrence of the Constitution, solemnly resolved that it was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and then hoisted the flag of *Disunion*. On the other hand, leading men in the Liberty party began to claim that the Constitution was a pure anti-slavery compact—that there were no exceptional provisions in it—that if any provisions were *intended* to be such, none was so in words—that a strict construction of the Constitution would prevent the master from recapturing a fugitive from service or labor—and that under the Constitution, either Congress might declare the abolition of slavery in the States, or the Federal courts decree freedom to any slave who might sue for it.

These views were first broached, we think, in 1838, by a distinguished legal gentleman in New York; but he could not then make many converts. During the contest we have referred to, various tracts have been written, and widely circulated, taking similar positions, and maintaining them with great ingenuity. Insensibly, with but little discussion in the papers of the party, urged on by the influences we have adverted to, and reluctant to say or do anything which might *look* like a concession to slavery, several Liberty editors have come to regard favorably these doctrines, if not to entertain them. They have made no formal declaration on the subject—they have not discussed the question elaborately in their papers. They do not seem to be conscious of any change of opinion; but, most certainly, they are rapidly drifting towards a new creed. We say "*new*," not because novelty is a valid objection to any doctrine, but we are anxious to arrest the attention of our brethren of the Press. The other day, our respected cotemporary of the Washington Patriot (published in eastern Pennsylvania) took great exceptions to an editorial in the *Era* which but repeated the constitutional doctrine advocated by us ever since we had any creed upon the subject, and expressed the opinion that our views were opposed to those held by the great body of Liberty men.

We are anxious to know whether this be a fact. It is time that we understood one another; and that the public should know what constitutional ground the Liberty party occupies. Let not declarations of great constitutional principles be received or promulgated without careful, deliberate examination.

No National Convention of Liberty men has given its sanction to these new doctrines; nor do we know of any State Liberty Convention that has done so, clearly and definitely. But this brings us to the resolutions of the late Liberty Convention of Massachusetts, some of which we stated last week would be examined in this number, with a view to indicate a few points from which we dissent. Our introductory remarks, however, have occupied so much space, it will be better to postpone what we have to say another week.

Washington, *Feb.* 18, 1847.

To the Editor of the National Era:

In your paper of the 18th instant, I find it reported that—

"Mr. Harmanson said they were giving aid and comfort in another way. The Wilmot proviso was doing it. So far from conciliating every section of the country, it was distracting the supporters of the war. It dampened the patriotism of the South. Gentlemen were mistaken in supposing that they would extirpate slavery by such restriction. The people of the South were as anxious to get rid of slavery as the North. But it would not be accomplished in a day. A door must be opened for them still further south, through which slavery could go to a congenial home, beneath the vertical rays of the sun. For half a century had the institution of slavery been receding southward. Let the retreat go on, and by and by the Southern States would be free."

Now, sir, there is one sentence of this report that I solemnly protest against; which is, that I stated "That the people of the South were as anxious to get rid of slavery as the North." So far from saying that, I contended, that no greater calamity could befall our country than emancipation in the Southern States. Nay, that it would retard the progress of the great principles of equal rights throughout Christendom, for a century, perhaps centuries; that our great commercial power principally rested on slave labor; with this power we disseminated our principles throughout the world. To emancipate the slaves, would be a certain loss of that power. To be shorn of that power, would give a check to the principles of republicanism, which would take centuries to overcome.

Will you be kind enough to publish this note.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. H. Harmanson.

Note by the Editor.—We copied the report of Mr. Harmanson's remarks from the Washington Union, not having had the pleasure of hearing that gentleman. In reference to our commerce and slave labor, let us ask, Would the South have had nothing to export under a system of free labor? Their staple of cotton is greatly overvalued. The single crop of hay in the North far exceeds in value the entire cotton crop of the South. The value of the cotton exported last year was about fifty-four millions of dollars. The value of the commerce on the Northern Lakes is more than one hundred millions annually.

House of Representatives,
February 20, 1847.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Sir: Your paper of the 18th has just been shown to me by a friend, in which I find a few disjointed expressions of a bad summary from the Union are made use of to draw an important inference, by you, which does not follow, and you would never have drawn, I am sure, if you had heard all I did say.

I should have corrected the report of the Union, if I had not then been engaged in writing out my remarks, which I intended to ask that paper to publish. I can scarcely blame the reporter, as I was giving a hurried summary of the positions I purposed to take.

The gentlemen around me were anxious to obtain the floor, as the hour for terminating the debate approached. So far from your inference being true, I believe slavery, as it exists at the South, under ordinary circumstances, is the happiest combination of labor and capital yet in use in society. At the same time, I believe, and contended, that to confine the slaves to the present States, would be destructive to the best interests of all parties—masters, slaves, and the free States; and also adduced arguments to prove that slavery would and must gradually end by its extension over new territory, without law or force, from the nature of the natural laws of population and labor; and that no human power or regulation could prevent it, unless, indeed, the African slave trade was again opened, which no one had asked. As one evidence, I referred to the diminished *ratio* of slave increase in the slave States, at the last census, which could not be accounted for upon any other principle than the increase of slave territory and the inadequacy of slave labor to supply it, and consequent increase of free labor in the slave States to supply it, &c. I contrasted this natural and quiet termination of slavery without loss, to the forcible termination, by extinguishing white men, in the present slave States, which could be the only perfect consummation of the policy contemplated by the Wilmot proviso.

Please do me the justice to publish this note.

Respectfully, &c.,

W. H. Brockenbrough.

Note by the Editor.—Certainly. We were in the Senate during the debate in the House in which Mr. Brockenbrough was engaged, and had, therefore, to depend upon the report of it published in the "Union." We would respectfully direct the attention of Mr. B. to an apparent inconsistency between his *policy* and his *creed*. His *creed* is, that slavery in the South "is the happiest combination of labor and capital yet in use in society;" but his *policy* is, to extend this happy combination over new territory, although he "adduced arguments to show that slavery would and must gradually end by its extension over new territory." He is, then, the strong supporter of a policy which *must* destroy what he regards as "the happiest combination of capital and labor yet in use in society!" There must be a radical error either in the *creed* or in the *policy* of the honorable gentleman.

CORRECTION.

Last week, by a strange blunder, Mr. Dunlap, of Maine, was represented in our paper, as going against Wilmot's proviso. He went for it in all its stages.

SENATOR FROM KENTUCKY.

Judge Underwood, after twenty-nine ballotings, was elected United States Senator, on the 13th, in the Kentucky Legislature.

FOREIGN NEWS—ARRIVAL OF THE CAMBRIA—DECLINE IN GRAIN.

The steamship Cambria arrived at Boston last Saturday evening, from Liverpool on the 4th inst.

The most important intelligence brought by the Cambria is the decline in the prices of flour, grain, &c., in the British market, owing to immense receipts, and a tightness in the money market. There is every prospect that whatever changes hereafter may take place, they will be in favor of the purchaser, not seller of breadstuffs.

The measures of relief proposed by the Ministry are, the removal of duties on the importation of grain, the suspension of the navigation laws, the remission of the sugar duties.

The famine in Ireland continues. Portions of Scotland, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Hungary, &c., are only less exposed to this scourge than Ireland.

The French Government has reduced the duties on grain and flour, and is importing from this country 100,000 barrels of flour.

Lord John Russell has brought forward his plan of relief to Ireland. Money is to be advanced for seed for the next crops. Loans to be made to such of the Irish landlords as want to improve their waste lands; or the lands will be bought by Government at a fixed price. A million sterling is to be advanced for the reclamation of waste land, which is then to be resold in small lots. Drainage is to be carried on.

The distress in Ireland is terrible. The newspapers abound in such cases as the following:

From the Rev. Samuel Stock, Rector and Vicar of Kilcommon, County of Mayo.

"A day ago I entered a miserable cabin, dug out of the bog; a poor woman sat propped against the wall inside; the stench was intolerable; and on my complaining of it, the mother pointed to a sort of square bed in one corner; it contained the putrid, the absolutely melted away, remains of her eldest son. On inquiry why she did not bury it, she assigned two reasons: first, she had not strength to go out and acquaint the neighbors; next, she waited till her other child would die, and they might bury both together. I examined the place where it lay; the sight was awful; the poor child lay there, unable even to cry; so exhausted, and so far gone, no after efforts could save it. It is since dead—it died this day. Here is one case in many."

Accounts from Prussia are almost as painful as from Ireland.

Thousands are in danger of dying by starvation in Hungary, before the spring.

The misery in Flanders, from want of food, is dreadful.

Lord John Russell has introduced into Parliament a bill for the relief and improvement of Ireland, the main provisions of which are: Money is to be advanced by Government for the purchase of seed crops; loans to be made to the landlords for the improvement of waste lands, or the lands to be bought by Government at fixed rates; if the landlords will neither sell nor improve, Government to be empowered to take the lands at a valuation; a million sterling to be appropriated for the reclamation of waste lands; drainage to be extensively carried out; lands purchased by the Government to be resold in small lots; yeoman proprietary for temporary relief to be created; new poor-laws to be enacted; committees to be appointed to distribute money and food; out-door relief recommended to aged and infirm paupers. The whole outlay for the relief of Ireland proposed is seven million pounds at least.

The French Government has addressed circulars to the consuls of Mexico, prohibiting French subjects from taking letters of marque.

Lord Palmerston has stated, on authority, that no person in England was authorized to issue letters of marque.

Liverpool Grain Market, Feb. 3.—Small sales of American flour at 40s. 6d. Sales on a larger scale at 40s. Wheat in limited demand, the prices having receded from 4d. to 6d. per 70 lbs. below the rates of the previous week.

Corn 68s. to 72s.; cornmeal 11s. 3d. to 11s. 9d. Beef advanced 2s. 6d. since the 20th ultimo. Mess pork 70s. to 72s. 6d., and middling 60s. to 65s.; bacon 10s., and in great demand. Cheese advanced 1s. to 2s. per cwt. Lard has risen 6s. per cwt. Rice is in request, Carolina 30s. to 31s. per cwt.

The declining tendency is produced by enactments of Parliament, the three principal measures being the entire remission of the corn duty; the suspension of the navigation laws; and a proposed remission of sugar duties.

Liverpool Cotton Market, Feb. 3.—The cotton market has been in a very quiet position, and prices are on the decline. On the 30th ult., 6,000 bales sold. On the 1st instant, 5,000 bales changed hands. The business of the 2d was estimated at 2,000 bales. Yesterday, the 3d, we had a dull heavy market, with prices for American generally ⅛d. per pound lower. Other descriptions have remained unchanged. The sales of the day amount to about 3,500 bales American at 6¼d. to 7¾d.; 200 Egyptian at 7d. to 7¾d., and 200 Surat at 4¼d. to 4¾d.

RELIEF FOR IRELAND.

The whole country is moving. The sum of $20,000 has been collected in New York within a short time. An immense relief meeting was held there a few evenings since.

A grand ball for the relief of Ireland was given on the night of the 15th, in Baltimore. Total receipts, $3,000. When expenses have been paid, the charity will be rather meager. This thing of dancing, while Ireland is starving, is in miserable taste.

Cincinnati, with a population much smaller, dispenses with balls, but raises at one public meeting $4,000! The good people there are also about chartering a schooner just built at Marietta, and loading her with provisions. R. W. Lee has offered to be one of ten to furnish each $1,000 worth of provisions.

The small town of Northampton, Massachusetts, raised $5,000.

The laborers and mechanics at Brooklyn have given $700.

Mr. Pakenham, in a very delicately worded note, encloses $500 to the treasurer in Washington, for the relief of his countrymen.

Large and enthusiastic meetings have been held in Boston, New Orleans, Pittsburg, Charleston, and, indeed, such meetings are in progress in all the towns, villages, and cities of the United States.

The great meeting in Washington has given a strong impulse, a large number of the meetings having been called in response to the appeal put forth by that meeting.

We cannot too earnestly press upon all our readers the necessity of prompt action.

WAR MEETING.

A war meeting was held in Vauxhall, New York, a few evenings since, got up chiefly by custom-house officers, dependants, &c. They passed divers patriotic resolutions, and tore in pieces a series of resolutions offered by the working men, of which we give the following, as specimens of the rest:

Resolved, therefore, That we, National Reformers of the city of New York, in view of our country's imminent peril, feeling bound to make prompt answer to her call for aid, do solemnly pledge ourselves to raise and enrol for active *service* in the war against Mexico *eight hundred men* by the first day of April next: *Provided*, That those of our fellow-citizens, numbering *five hundred and eighty* men, who have signed the call for this meeting, will pledge themselves to enlist and unite with us in active service, to make common cause against the Mexicans, in striving to restore an honorable peace to our distracted country.

Resolved, That the regiment so enrolled shall be empowered to select from among their numbers suitable officers to lead them; and the pay to be equally divided among officers and men.

Resolved, That it becomes the imperative duty of every American citizen who raises his voice in favor of war, to enroll himself in the ranks, and become an active defender of his country's liberties; therefore, honor and patriotism urgently demand that those of our fellow-citizens who have given their names as advocates of war should immediately unite with us, and repair speedily to the theatre of action in Mexico.

Resolved, That we are constrained to look with distrust upon the actions and motives of men who would urge their fellow-men to fight, while they refuse to take up arms themselves, but desert their country in her hours of darkest trial and danger.

This was capital.

These attempts of dependants on the Administration to manufacture public sentiment are fully appreciated.

Extract of a letter to the Publisher, February 20, 1847.

"A great effort is being made in Columbus O., for the relief of the suffering Irish. It is expected that from 6,000 to 8,000 dollars will be raised in Franklin county alone, for this benevolent object."

IMPORTANT FROM MEXICO.

Santa Anna Still Alive—Reported Resignation of his Cabinet—Threatened Pronunciamento by the Clergy, &c.

We are indebted to the Charleston Courier and Evening News for the subjoined important news, obtained by the arrival from Havana of the brig Adela, Captain Watson, to whom it was communicated by our consul, Mr. Campbell, who received it by the arrival at Havana of the Vera Cruz packet of the 6th instant:

Santa Anna is still at San Luis Potosi, at the head of 22,000 men, generally occupied with his favorite amusement of cock fighting.

General Taylor is said to have left his recent position, and passed Victoria, at the head of 6,000 men, supposed to be on his march to Tampico.

The clergy have refused to contribute the $8,000,000 attempted to be raised from them; they are much excited against Santa Anna, and are endeavoring to get up pronunciamentos against him.

The whole cabinet of Santa Anna are reported to have resigned. Great jealousies exist among the different Generals in the Mexican army, and consequently much confusion and disorganization prevails.

Vera Cruz is garrisoned by 3,000 troops, dispirited, and expect the city to be attacked by the Americans on the 2d February.

LATER FROM TEXAS.

Embarkation of General Worth's Command.

The steamer Palmetto arrived at New Orleans on the 10th inst., with dates from Galveston to the 7th. The Commercial Times says:

The prize case against the schooner Francisco, from Yucatan, and the seizure of the schooner Star, with apparel, furniture, and cargo, supposed to be worth $40,000 or $50,000, are before the United States district court, now sitting as a court of admiralty in Galveston. Samuel Yerger, Esq., is appointed to act as district attorney *pro tem.*, in the absence of Geo. W. Brown, Esq.

The schooner James McKnight, which had just arrived at Galveston, passed five large ships bound down, all filled with troops, 30 miles N. E. of the Brazos Santiago.

Generals Scott and Worth were still at the Brazos when the Dove, also a late arrival, left. General Worth's whole command had arrived from above, and were reported to be all on shipboard, and ready to sail down the coast.

The next session of the Texas Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church will assemble on the 10th of March next, at Cedar Creek, in Washington county.

IMPORTANT FROM YUCATAN.

War between Merida and Campeachy—A Battle Fought.

The brig P. Soule, Capt. Thompson, arrived at New Orleans on the 12th instant, from Havana, bringing papers of that city to the 30th ultimo, which contain intelligence from Merida to the effect that actual hostilities between the Campeachians and Merida forces had commenced.

On the 10th ultimo, Government troops to the number of 400 infantry and 29 dragoons, with one piece of artillery, from Merida, attacked the village of Tabi, and after two hours fighting took it, driving the Campeachians out before them. The force of the Campeachians is not given. Their loss is said to be between forty and fifty killed, and seventeen prisoners. The loss of the victors is set down at five killed and eleven wounded. The only account of the engagement published in the Havana papers is the official despatch of the victorious commander, and perhaps it would be well to make some allowance for a Mexican speaking of his own achievements. The place is of no importance whatever as a military post, and was abandoned immediately after being taken.

The Campeachian forces were in the immediate vicinity of Merida, and had demanded its surrender, giving twenty-four hours to consider. The Government forces in reply proposed a cessation of hostilities, and the appointment of commissioners on both sides to settle matters amicably. This, however, was rejected, and the commander of Merida refused to surrender; and at the last accounts it was momentarily expected that the Campeachians would attack the city.

CONGRESS.

Wednesday, February 17.

A discussion arose in the Senate on the occasion of the presentation of a petition by John A. Barry, a British subject, praying some change in legislation. It was respectful and able. The discussion turned upon the question whether an alien had a right to petition—Mr. Webster contending for it, Mr. Calhoun against it. Some two years ago, a petition was presented by certain literary gentlemen of Great Britain, asking for the passage of an international copyright law. It was received without objection, Mr. Calhoun (according to Mr. Huntington, a Senator) supporting the reception. It is rather a petty business to be disputing about the right of an alien to petition, when his petition is entirely respectful.

The naval appropriation bill was considered.

Mr. Colquitt then addressed the Senate on the special order, the three million bill. He defended the "Union," advocated the entire policy of the President, eulogized his fidelity to Democratic principles, differing in every point with Mr. Calhoun, except as to the mode of terminating the war, in regard to which he concurred in the measures of that gentleman.

A great many private bills were then disposed of, and the Senate adjourned.

In the House, a bill directing the mileage of the members of Congress to be estimated according to the shortest mail route, was passed.

A bill was reported providing for the addition of general officers. It was referred to the Committee of the Whole.

The petition of John A. Barry, a British subject, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. McKay reported a bill to increase the revenue, in accordance with the recommendations of the last message of the President.

The bill to establish an additional land district in Wisconsin, with an amendment, preventing the sale of mineral lands for less than five dollars per acre, was passed.

A bill to establish a new Territory, by the name of Minnesota, (adjoining Wisconsin, we believe,) was passed.

Thursday, February 18.

Mr. Butler addressed the Senate on the three million bill. He was perplexed on every side. He saw nothing to be gained by a vigorous prosecution of the war, and no relief in peace. We were like the shepherd who had the wolf by the ears. It was perilous to keep hold, worse to let go. He spoke in terms of deep devotion to the Union, and argued at length against the Wilmot proviso. For an extract of his speech, see the second page.

After his speech, various private bills were disposed of.

In the House, a bill in relation to certain roads in Wisconsin was debated at length. Attempts were made to fasten upon it a great many amendments, appropriating moneys to works of internal improvement, but they were all voted down, and the bill itself was at last killed.

A bill providing for certain public works in Wisconsin was taken up in Committee of the Whole, and a motion was made to strike out all after the enacting clause, and substitute the river and harbor bill. This provides $500,000, instead of $1,500,000, as at the last session.

The Committee rose and reported progress.

Messrs. Cilley and Miller presented resolutions of the States of New Hampshire and New Jersey, against the further extension of slavery.

The question of reception was raised by a Southern Senator, but speedily withdrawn. The resolutions were ordered to be printed.

Mr. Calhoun introduced a series of resolutions on the subject of slavery, and spoke as follows:

Mr. President, I rise to offer a set of resolutions in reference to the various resolutions from the State Legislatures upon the subject of what they call the extension of slavery, and the proviso attached to the House bill, called the three million bill. What I propose, before I send my resolutions to the table, is, to make a few explanatory remarks.

Mr. President, it was solemnly asserted on this floor, some time ago, that all parties in the non-slaveholding States had come to a fixed and solemn determination upon two propositions. One was, that there should be no further admission of any States into this Union which permitted by their Constitutions the existence of slavery; and the other was, that slavery shall not hereafter exist in any of the territories of the United States; the effect of which would be, to give to the non-slaveholding States the monopoly of the public domain, to the entire exclusion of the slaveholding States. Since that declaration was made, Mr. President, we have abundant proof that there was a satisfactory foundation for it. We have received already solemn resolutions passed by seven of the non-slaveholding States—one-half of the number already in the Union, Iowa not being counted—using the strongest possible language to that effect; and no doubt, in a short space of time, similar resolutions will be received from all of the non-slaveholding States. But we need not go beyond the walls of Congress. The subject has been agitated in the other House, and they have sent you up a bill "prohibiting the extension of slavery" (using their own language) "to any territory which may be acquired by the United States hereafter." At the same time, two resolutions which have been moved to extend the compromise line from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, during the present session, have been rejected by a decided majority.

Sir, there is no mistaking the signs of the times; and it is high time that the Southern States, the slaveholding States, should inquire what is now their relative strength in this Union, and what it will be if this determination should be carried into effect hereafter. Sir, already we are in a minority—I use the word "we" for brevity sake—already we are in a minority in the other House, in the electoral college, and, I may say, in every department of this Government, except, at present, in the Senate of the United States—there, for the present, we have an equality. Of the twenty-eight States, fourteen are non-slaveholding, and fourteen are slaveholding, counting Delaware, which is doubtful, as one of the non-slaveholding States. But this equality of strength exists only in the Senate. One of the clerks, at my request, has furnished me with a statement of what is the relative strength of the two descriptions of States, in the other House of Congress, and in the electoral college. There are 228 Representatives, including Iowa, which is already represented there. Of these, 138 are from the non-slaveholding States, and 90 are from what are called the slave States, giving a majority in the aggregate to the former of 48. In the electoral college there are 168 votes belonging to the non-slaveholding States, and 118 to the slaveholding, giving a majority of 50 to the non-slaveholding.

We, Mr. President, have at present only one position in the Government, by which we may make any resistance to this aggressive policy which has been declared against the South, or any other that the non-slaveholding States may choose to take. And this equality in this body is of the most transient character. Already Iowa is a State; but, owing to some domestic calamity, is not yet represented in this body. When she appears here, there will be an addition of two Senators to the representatives here of the non-slaveholding States. Already Wisconsin has passed the initiatory stage, and will be here at next session. This will add two more, making a clear majority of four in this body on the side of the non-slaveholding States, who will thus be enabled to sway every branch of this Government at their will and pleasure. But, sir, if this aggressive policy be followed—if the determination of the non-slaveholding States is to be adhered to hereafter, and we are to be entirely excluded from the territories which we already possess, or may possess—if this is to be the fixed policy of the Government, I ask, what will be our situation hereafter?

Sir, there is ample space for twelve or fifteen of the largest description of States in the territories belonging to the United States. Already a law is in course of passage through the other House, creating one north of Wisconsin. There is ample room for another north of Iowa; and another north of that; and then that large region extending on this side of the Rocky Mountains, from 49 degrees down to the Texan line, which may be set down fairly as an area of twelve and a half degrees of latitude—that extended region of itself is susceptible of having six, seven, or eight large States. To this, add Oregon, which extends from 49 to 42 degrees, which will give four more, and I make a very moderate calculation when I say that, in addition to Iowa and Wisconsin, twelve more States upon the territory already ours—without reference to any acquisitions from Mexico—may be, and will be, shortly added to these United States. How will we then stand? There will be but fourteen on the part of the South—we are to be fixed, limited, and forever—and twenty-eight on the part of the non-slaveholding States! Twenty-eight! Double our number! And with the same disproportion in the other House and in the electoral college! The Government, sir, will be entirely in the hands of the non-slaveholding States, overwhelmingly.

Sir, if this state of things is to go on—if this determination, so solemnly made, is to be persisted in, where shall we stand, as far as the Federal Government of ours is concerned? What, then, must we do? We must look to justice—to our own interests—to the Constitution. We will have no longer a shield even in equality here. Now, can we rely upon the sense of justice of this body? Ought we to rely upon this? These are the solemn questions which I put on all sides.

Sir, look to the past. If we are to look to that—I will not go into the details—we will see from the beginning of this Government to the present day, as far as pecuniary resources are concerned—as far as the disbursement of revenue is involved, it will be found that we have been a portion of the community which has substantially supported this Government, without receiving anything like a tantamount support from it. But why should I go beyond this very measure itself? Why go beyond this determination, on the part of the non-slaveholding States, that there can be no further addition to the slaveholding States, to prove what our condition is?

Sir, what is the entire amount of this policy? I will not say that it is so designed. I will not say from what cause it originated. I will not say whether blind fanaticism on one side, whether a hostile feeling to slavery entertained by many not fanatical on the other, has produced it; or whether it has been the work of men, who, looking to political power, have considered the agitation of this question as the most effectual mode of obtaining the spoils of this Government. I look to the fact itself. It is a policy now openly avowed to be persisted in. It is a policy, Mr. President, which aims to monopolize the powers of this Government, and to obtain sole possession of its patronage.

Now, I ask, is there any remedy? Does the Constitution afford any remedy? And if not, is there any hope? These, Mr. President, are solemn questions—not only to us, but, let me say to gentlemen from the non-slaveholding States, to them. Sir, the day that the balance between the two sections of the country, the slaveholding States and the non-slaveholding States, is destroyed, is a day that will not be far removed from political revolution, anarchy, civil war, and wide-spread disaster. The balance of this system is in the slaveholding States. They are the conservative portion—always have been the conservative portion—always will be the conservative portion; and with a due balance on their part may, for generations to come, uphold this glorious Union of ours. But if this policy should be carried out—if we are to be reduced to a handful—if we are to become a mere ball to play the presidential game with—to count something in the Baltimore caucus—if this is to be the result—wo! wo! I say, to this Union!

Now, sir, I put again the solemn question: does the Constitution afford any remedy? Is there any provision in it by which this aggressive policy, boldly avowed, as if perfectly consistent with our institutions and the safety and prosperity of the United States, may be confronted? Is this a policy consistent with the Constitution. No, Mr. President, no! It is, in all its features, daringly opposed to the Constitution. What is it? Ours is a Federal Constitution. The States are its constituents, and not the people. The twenty-eight States (the twenty-nine States, including Iowa) stand under this Government as twenty-nine individuals, or as twenty-nine individuals would stand to a consolidated power. It was not made for the mere individual prosperity of the State as individuals. No, sir. It was made for higher ends. It was formed, that every State constituting a portion of this great Union of ours should enjoy all its advantages, natural and acquired, with greater security, and enjoy them more perfectly. The whole system is based on justice and equality, perfect equality between the members of this republic. Nor can that be consistent with equality which will make this public domain a monopoly on one side—which, in its consequences, would place the whole power in one section of the Union, to be wielded against the other sections of the Union! Is that equality?

How do we stand in reference to this territorial question—this public domain of ours? Why, sir, what is it? It is the common property of the States of this Union. They are called "the territories of the United States." And what are the "United States" but the States united? Sir, these territories are the property of the States united; held jointly for their common use. And is it consistent with justice, is it consistent with equality, that any portion of the partners, outnumbering another portion, shall oust them in this common property of theirs—shall pass any law which shall proscribe the citizens of other portions of the Union from emigrating with their property to the territories of the United States? Would that be consistent, can it be consistent, with the idea of a common property, held jointly, for the common benefit of all? Would it be so considered in private life? Would it not be considered the greatest outrage in the world, and which any court on the face of the globe would at once overrule?

Mr. President, not only is that proposition grossly inconsistent with the Constitution, but the other, which undertakes to say that no State shall be admitted into this Union which shall not prohibit, by its Constitution, the existence of slaves, is equally a great outrage against the Constitution of the United States. Sir, I hold it to be a fundamental principle of our political system, that the people have a right to establish what Government they may think proper for themselves; that every State about to become a member of this Union has a right to form its own Government as it pleases; and that, in order to be admitted, there is but one qualification—and that is, that the Government shall be republican. It is not so expressly prescribed by the instrument itself, but by that great section which guaranties to every State in this Union a republican form of Government. Now, sir, what is proposed? It is proposed, from a vague, indefinite, erroneous, and most dangerous conception of private individual liberty, to overrule this great common liberty which a people have of framing their own Constitution! Sir, the individual right of men is not nearly so easily to be established by any course of reasoning, as his common liberty. And yet, sir, there are men of such delicate feeling on the subject of liberty—there are men who cannot possibly bear what they call slavery in one section of the country, (and it is not so much slavery as an institution indispensable for the good of both races,) men so squeamish on this point, that they are ready to strike down the higher right of a community to govern themselves, in order to maintain the absolute right of individuals, in all circumstances, to govern themselves!

Mr. President, the resolutions that I have proposed present, in exact terms, these great truths. I propose to present them to the Senate; I propose to have a vote upon them; and I trust there is no gentleman here who will refuse a direct vote upon these propositions. It is manly that we shall know the state of things. It is due to our constituents that we should insist upon it; and I, as one, will insist upon it that the sense of this body shall be taken—the body which represents the States in their capacity as communities, and the members of which are to be their special guardians. It is due to them, sir, that there should be a fair expression of what is the sense of this body. Upon that expression much depends. It is the only stand which we can have. It is the only position which we can take, which will uphold us with anything like independence—which will give us any chance at all to maintain an equality in this Union, on those great principles to which I have had reference. Overrule these principles, and we are nothing! Preserve them, and we will ever be a respectable portion of the community.

Sir, here let me say a word as to the compromise line. I have always considered it as a great error—highly injurious to the South—because it surrendered, for mere temporary purposes, those high principles of the Constitution upon which I think we ought to stand. I am against any compromise line. Yet I would have been willing to have continued the compromise line. One of the resolutions in the House, to that effect, was offered at my suggestion. I said to a friend there, (Mr. Burt,) "Let us not be disturbers of this Union. As abhorrent to my feelings as is that compromise line, let it be adhered to in good faith; and if the other portions of the Union are willing to stand by it, let us not refuse to stand by it. It has kept peace for some time, and, in the circumstances, perhaps it would be better to keep peace as it is." But, sir, it was voted down by an overwhelming majority. It was renewed by a gentleman from a non-slaveholding State, and again voted down by an overwhelming majority.

Well, I see my way in the Constitution. I cannot in the compromise. A compromise is but an act of Congress. It may be overruled at any time. It give us no security. But the Constitution is stable. It is a rock. On it I can stand. It is a principle on which we can meet our friends from the non-slaveholding States. It is firm ground, on which they can better stand in opposition to fanaticism, than on the shifting sands of compromise.

Let us be done with compromise. Let us go back and stand upon the Constituion!

Well, sir, what if the decision of this body shall deny to us this high constitutional right, which in my opinion is as clear as any in the instrument itself—the more defined and stable, indeed, because deduced from the entire body of the instrument, and the nature of the subject to which it relates? What then? That is a question which I will not undertake to decide. It is a question for our constituents—the slaveholding States. A solemn and a great question, Mr. President. And if the decision should be adverse at this time, I trust and do believe that they will take under solemn consideration what they ought to do. I give no advice. It would be hazardous and dangerous for me to do so. But I may speak as an individual member of that section of the Union. There I drew my first breath. There are all my hopes. I am a planter—a cotton planter. I am a Southern man and a slaveholder—a kind and a merciful one, I trust—and none the worse for being a slaveholder. I say, for one, I would rather meet any extremity upon earth than give up one inch of our equality—one inch of what belongs to us as members of this great republic! What! acknowledged inferiority! The surrender of life is nothing to sinking down into acknowledged inferiority!

I have examined this subject largely—widely. I think I see the future, if we do not stand up now; and, in my humble opinion, the condition of Ireland is merciful and happy—the condition of Hindoston is peace and happiness—the condition of Jamaica is prosperous and happy, to what the

Reported for the National Era.

BRIEF NOTICES OF CASES
ARGUED AND DECIDED IN THE
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

JANUARY TERM, 1847.

THE ALIEN STATE TAX CASE.
No. 7.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1847.

JAMES NORRIS, *Plaintiff in Error;* THE CITY OF BOSTON, *Defendants in Error.*

MR. J. DAVIS, *for the Defendants in Error.*

The case before the court is not a *new* one. It has only some points about it that discriminate it from others of the same character.

The argument, that the power of Congress to regulate commerce is exclusive, proves too much; for its effect is the absorption of the State Governments by the General Government—a result never contemplated by the people. Their purpose was, that the two Governments should exist together over the same territory, each moving in its proper orbit.

The State of Massachusetts has a pauper system. The law whose constitutionality is denied in this case is a part of that system.

But it is said that it is not a pauper law, because the word *pauper* does not occur in it. Neither does it occur in the first section of the New York law whose constitutionality was questioned in the Milne case; but the court decided that law to be a law regulating pauperism. The regulation of pauperism being a police power, this act is also a police law.

It being a police and a pauper law, it can be shown—

1. That the exigencies of the State required its enactment;

2. That it is a part and parcel of the pauper policy of the State; and

3. That the State had a right to pass this law.

The pauper policy of Massachusetts is very ancient. It goes back to 1639, and even before that day. It began with the settlement of the country, and has suffered no interruption. Pauper laws are necessarily of a compulsory character. The towns of Massachusetts, being corporations, are compelled by the humane legislation of the State to provide relief for their poor and destitute, whether resident or non-resident. If the pauper be a foreigner, the State formerly reimbursed the town for his support; but of late years, the influx of foreign paupers has been so great as to induce the State to reduce the allowance to one dollar per week for the support of such paupers. A consideration of the poor laws of Massachusetts of 1793, 1819, and 1830, will explain the true policy of Massachusetts pauper legislation.

The early policy of Great Britain and the rest of Europe was, to make a sort of Botany Bay of this country. The evil of pauperism in Great Britain long ago had risen to an overwhelming height. The whole rental of Ireland at present will not more than suffice to support the poor of that island. In 1830, Parliament instituted an inquiry into the pauperism of the kingdom; and one of the remedies suggested in the report was emigration. Some years after the appearance of this report, Massachusetts discovered that her almshouses were filled with British paupers, who confessed that they were sent to this country by the local authorities of their several districts at home. Massachusetts found herself compelled to take steps to protect herself from this influx of foreign paupers, and the action had by her in the case was the law now complained of. It was called for by the exigencies of the occasion; and an attentive examination of the statute will demonstrate that it is part and parcel of the poor-law system of the State.

But, had the State the right to make such a law, and to carry it into execution?

The powers of the General Government are enumerated in the Constitution, and all powers that are not conferred in that instrument upon the General Government remain with and to the States. No power has been granted to Congress over the subject of pauperism. The States, therefore, have power over this subject. Every State has a right to pass such laws as society requires to protect it, unless that State has parted with this right. The States have not parted with this police right.—5 Condensed Rep., p. 574.

Every State has a right to carry into effect its police and pauper laws, though the means of carrying them into effect be similar to the means used by the United States in carrying into effect the laws which they may make.—11 Peters, p. 141. A pauper law has been declared to be a police law.—11 Peters, p. 142. The power of the States over their internal police is complete and exclusive. It has never been surrendered.

The State of Massachusetts has not only a right to make and maintain pauper laws, but to make laws regulating the introduction of paupers by the avenues of foreign commerce. This practical doctrine, proclaimed to the world by this court ten years ago, has invaded no personal rights, no rights of property, has produced no conflict between the State Governments and the General Government, no inconveniences to the citizen.

The law of Massachusetts is a police law, and therefore is not in collision with the laws of the United States, though it may affect the commerce of the United States.—11 Peters, *passim.*

Pauperism is an evil, to put down which, this court has declared, there could not be a more appropriate exercise of the police power of a State.

Not only is there no collision in law between this act of Massachusetts and the acts of the General Government, but there is none in the facts of the case.

Nor is this law repugnant to any of the laws of the United States, for there is no evidence of extreme inconveniency between them, which repugnancy requires.—1 Story Com., p. 432.

The United States law of 1799 is pointed to as a law which the Massachusetts act is repugnant to. Does the latter act legislate upon the comforts of the passengers crossing the sea, their ratio to the tonnage, the amount of sea stores required for each man for the voyage, &c., all which are the subject-matter of the law of 1799? Not at all. The Massachusetts act relates exclusively to the introduction of paupers, &c.

But both acts relate to alien passengers, say they. True. But in the United States law the provisions respecting the alien passenger have relation to the regulation of the foreign commerce of the country, while, in the State law, they have relation to the regulation of the police and pauper system of the State of Massachusetts. The general law deals with them as alien passengers. The State law deals with them as actual or prospective paupers. There is no conflict, no repugnance here.

The act of Massachusetts does not lay a duty on imports. It makes no such provision. It requires the payment of two dollars for each alien passenger. Now, it has been decided by this court, that a duty or impost is a custom or tax imposed on *articles* brought into the country, &c.—12 Wheaton, p. 437. Imports, therefore, are the *things* imported. The duty is not on the act of importation, but on the *thing* imported. Passengers are not things, are not the subjects of traffic or trade, cannot be included in the definition given by this court to the word *imports.* Again: it has been held by this court, that goods are the subjects of commerce, persons not.—11 Peters, p. 136.

The State has been accused of transcending its powers, either intentionally or unintentionally, by this act—of regulating foreign commerce by it. There is no evidence of such a design. The law was not intended as a revenue law, to raise revenue. Its object was to mitigate the evils of pauperism in the State, by a proper police law, made necessary by the condition of things, and which it had the power to adopt.

A State has the power of taxation, unless where restrained by the Constitution. The restraining clause of the Constitution is to be carried no farther than necessary.

The court adjourned until to-morrow.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 9.

MR. J. DAVIS, in continuation of his remarks for the defendants in error:

It has been assumed that, whenever a State law imposes a charge or tax upon foreign commerce, it becomes necessarily a commercial regulation. On this assumption, the law of Massachusetts has been pronounced to be a regulation of commerce.

If this be true, how comes it that a State can exercise the right to tax an interest in ships, wharves, &c., by which commerce is carried on? If a burden upon commerce is always a regulation of commerce, fall in whatever form it may upon the business of commerce, how comes it that the States have the undoubted power to tax the capital employed in commerce?

Such a doctrine will not bear the test of examination. The right of taxation belongs fundamentally to the States, and can only be taken from them by their own consent. This right appertains to the exercise of the various powers of sovereignty, for, without it, the powers of sovereignty would be no more sovereignty.

The States retain the police power to the largest extent, and with it the right to tax for the purposes of exercising that power; and they are not to be restrained in the exercising of that right of taxation, because it happens, in the nature of things, that the taxes thus laid operate as a burden upon commerce. Hence the legality of sanitary, harbor, ballast, and all such laws, though every one of them is a charge or burden upon commerce.

All persons engaged in foreign commerce are daily subject to charges and expenses, made necessary by State laws; and those laws are never complained of as unconstitutional.

It is the character of the tax or the expenditure of the tax that must decide the constitutionality of all State laws which operate as a burden or charge upon commerce. It is right that they who occasion an expenditure should bear their part in the taxes necessary to discharge the same.

The police power of a State is exclusive; and a State may impose taxes generally with a view to defray the expense of the exercise of the police power, even though they do affect commerce and navigation.—1 vol. Stat. at Large, p. 699.

The chief object of the Massachusetts law was, by the just and appropriate exercise of the police power, to protect the State from the heavy burden which the immigration of foreign paupers was daily inflicting on the people; and, when it demanded the sum of two dollars from every alien able-bodied passenger, the State assumed the responsibility of taking care of him at any time thereafter, if he should be unable to take care of himself. The payment of this tax, therefore, by the alien passenger, to the State of Massachusetts, is equivalent to the purchase by him of the right to be taken care of by the State, should he become a pauper, and the State is always ready to accord that right.

If the State of Massachusetts be compelled by the decision of this court in this case to abandon the law now complained of, she must soon abandon her pauper system; for, to deny her the right to deal to some extent with the avenues of foreign immigration, will render her powerless on this subject-matter.

But, whatever be the opinion of this court, it is hoped that it will ever keep in mind that its obligations are as strong to take care of and protect the rights of the States as the rights of the United States.

OUR CORRESPONDENCE.

For the National Era.

TO THE LOVERS OF FREEDOM IN CONGRESS.

SHORT CREEK, OHIO,
1st of 2d mo., 1847.

Can any thing be done to infuse a degree of firmness in your minds sufficient for the demands of the present crisis? If any thing can, let it be done, no matter by whom. Look back to every important struggle between freedom and slavery, and point, if you can, to a single instance wherein the claims of freedom have not been yielded to the demands of slavery.

At the commencement of every struggle, the free sentiment seems to prevail. But slavery, with a determination like iron, and vigilance like the flaming sword that turns every way to guard the tree of life, has always managed to prevail in the end.

Is not liberty as precious as slavery? Should not its claims be watched as closely? Are you willing that the predictions of John Randolph shall be fulfilled? You know he spoke of doughfaces being in your ranks, and even compared some to base money, that ought to be nailed to the counter. How do you feel when you hear slaveholders earnestly contending that *slave* States must keep pace with the free States? That the Constitution, which was adopted to secure the blessings of liberty, should spend half its force in sustaining the *blessing* of slavery? Should a person under similar circumstances make such a proposition to me, it would require numberless protestations to make me accord to him sincerity.

Should the opposers of slavery stand to the ground already taken by some, and not allow one more inch of territory to be used for slavery, other expedients will be resorted to.

You know Texas has already been taken into the Union as a slave territory; but it has no bounds yet; and, in running the boundary line, half of Mexico may be taken in, and the ends of slavery be accomplished at last.

It has been asserted that slaveholders will have no more territory, unless it is to be tilled by slaves; wonder if they think that is sufficient, and that everybody will be dumb hereafter on that subject. I see no particular reason why you should ask their consent on that point.

If Mexico, or any part of it, should be willing to become a part of this Union with a free constitution, just let it come. If Texas, with slavery in her heart, may be annexed by a bare majority, why may not Mexico, with freedom in her soul, be annexed in the same way?

Any man wearing peace and friendship on his countenance, could soon obtain the consent of Mexico to become a part of this Union.

I know it is asserted by some of our slaveholding brethren, that slavery is a very good institution, but such assertions need proof. And do the briars, sedge-grass, and young pines, that overspread the oldest portions of the land of slavery, afford any proof of its value?

There is nothing needed on your part, but firmness, mildness, and candor, to lay the foundation for future prosperity and happiness in all the southern portion of North America.

Your friend and brother,
M. T. JOHNSON.

GUILFORD COUNTY, N. C.,
1st month 22d, 1847.

DEAR FRIEND: I have always thought a great deal of the Cincinnati Herald, and am equally well, if not better, pleased with the second number of the National Era, owing to its containing more and earlier congressional news.

I am much pleased with the able article on the extension of slavery by Congress over any of the new territory that may be hereafter acquired.

The removal of thy enterprise to our national capital I hope will be the means of more widely spreading the seeds of emancipation over this nation; and I believe this will be the case. At Washington, I should suppose, are to be found men of influence from all parts of our extended Union, especially during the sessions of Congress. Many of these will learn from the National Era the principles advocated by the friends of emancipation, who never would have the opportunity from any other source. Thus they will, at least, find out that Liberty men are not mad dogs and cut-throats, if they should fail to adopt their principles. Hence will be disarmed much of that bitter prejudice against anti-slavery men that has, in times past, been the greatest barrier to success. This prejudice, I think, has, for some time past, been gradually melting away. There are many in this section of country who deprecate slavery, and express their sentiments more freely than in times past, when it seemed men were afraid to speak on the subject, for fear of being called traitors. All articles that show free labor to be more profitable than slave labor, both to individuals and in a national point of view, are calculated to have a great deal of weight in the slave States, (perhaps more than any other class;) for it has been justly said, "Where a man's treasure is, there is his heart also."

Truly, thy friend,
REUBEN STARBUCK.

DR. BAILEY.

ALBANY, N. Y., *Feb.* 1, 1847.

FRIEND BAILEY: Perhaps a word or two occasionally from this point of observation, upon matters of general concernment, may not be uninteresting to your readers.

Your paper has created quite a little sensation here. Its clean, bright face—calm, yet firm and decided tone—its clear, forcible exposition of principles by which it is to be governed, command respect, and elicit from all parties kind wishes for its success. God bless you in the enterprise.

There are cheering signs of the times—signs not to be mistaken—clouds already larger than a man's hand, not only in the East, but in the North and West, and they give promise of good to our country and our race.

This day the Empire State has spoken out plainly upon the question of acquiring slave territory. The Senate, last week, passed resolutions prohibiting slavery from all territory to be acquired from Mexico, by a vote of 23 to 6. To-day the House took up the Senate's resolutions, and passed them, by a vote of 96 to 9. Thus New York has ranged herself along with Vermont and Ohio, upon the side of freedom on this question. King and Grover, and their cotemporaries, will be sustained. The stand taken by them finds a ready response deep down in the hearts of the people, and wo to the Representative from this State who proves recreant to these high and holy principles.

I forward you the speech of the Hon. Ira Harris, (Whig,) in the Senate, upon the resolutions above referred to. Is it not manly? Anti-slavery men are familiar with the facts and arguments therein, but it is rather new and bold ground for party men.

Yours, for truth, T. S. B.

BRANDON, VT., *Jan.* 19, 1847.

MR. BAILEY: The friends here of your enterprise hail with sincere pleasure the appearance of "The National Era." It is an earnest of what perseverance and unflinching devotion to principle may hereafter effect. It is evidence, amounting to demonstration, that the people of the free and many in the slave States demand a national organ, through which their sentiments, their firm resolves, followed by corresponding efforts in freedom's cause, shall be made known to each other.

I do not participate in the fears indicated in certain hints and paragraphs found in a few of the public journals and letters of correspondents, either as to the character of your paper, or of anticipated resort to illegal measures and mob violence against your undertaking. The people require, and *will have,* at the present time, "*free discussion,*" on all topics connected with their interests, whether of a moral, religious, pecuniary, or political nature. This demand, I have no doubt, will be gratified in the "Era," without in the least compromising or losing sight of the great object of the paper—to defend the right of suffering millions *everywhere* to personal and political freedom. If I am correct in this, the paper, by reason of its variety, its foreign, domestic, agricultural, and literary intelligence, will be of absorbing interest to the general and miscellaneous, as well as to *every* reader, whatever may be his opinion of the institution of slavery. It will thus become an instrument of far greater good, in relation to the very subject on which it designs to make an impression. How much longer can slaveholders rely on their own political parties out of a slave State?

Let a Wilmot, a Hale, a Preston King, an Adams, a Giddings, a Palfrey, and a Grover, answer this question. Even here in Vermont they have taken a step in advance of the Wilmot proviso. The Whig and Democratic parties of this State have unanimously declared, by legislative resolution, that—

"If Congress refuse to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, that the seat of the General Government ought to be removed from that District to a place where slavery and the slave trade does not and cannot exist."

Let those who threaten, take warning from the northern wing of their own parties!

R. V. M.

TRIADELPHIA, VA., *Nov.* 24, 1846.

DEAR DOCTOR: The Liberty principle still lives and breathes in this part of Virginia, and I think, upon the whole, it is daily manifesting increased symptoms of vitality. "While there is life, there is hope."

The National Era will involve a grand enterprise. The scheme is more noble and less visionary than that of "revelling in the halls of the Montezumas." It will silence many objections which are urged, foolishly, against the course of Abolitionists, both in the free and slave States.

Some there are with us who pretend opposition to slavery, who could not be prevailed upon to subscribe for the Herald, nor, indeed, any other papers published in the free States, because "the people in the free States had no business with the subject, and were meddling with that which did not concern them." "If they are so much opposed to slavery, let them go where it is." Such persons cannot oppose now. I hope we will furnish you with an additional subscription. We will try.

Yours, &c., J. Y. ASHINHUST.

DR. BAILEY, *Cincinnati, O.*

HOOSICK, RENSSELAER CO., N. Y.,
23d of 1st month, 1847.

FRIEND BAILEY: I have to thank thee for the promptness with which thou sent me the first number of the National Era. * * * * On these accounts, I indulge strong hopes that a National Era has in truth arrived, when a weekly periodical may be published at the Nation's capital, advocating the long-mooted but self-evident doctrine, that all men are invested with equal rights, and that all men owe to each other certain duties. "Both rights and duties being the necessary result of the various relations by which man is allied to his fellow-man and to his bountiful Creator. And that, to instruct men in all their rights and in all their duties, to persuade them to perform the one and to protect the other, is one of the most important purposes of human life." When, therefore, we see a Government disregarding its duties of equal protection, and legislating for the oppression of a certain class of "PERSONS" within its jurisdiction, and depriving them of ALL their RIGHTS, it is not only proper, but dutiful, to admonish those who administer it of the rights of the oppressed, and their duty to restore them.

Thy friend, in the bonds of universal brotherhood.

For the National Era.

LIBERTY BAZAAR, PHILADELPHIA.

MR. BAILEY: The Liberty party ladies of Philadelphia organized themselves, about sixteen months since, as an association for raising funds by their own industry in aid and furtherance of the great anti-slavery movement. Their number was small and their resources very limited, but they were heartily in earnest, and determined to succeed. With very little assistance from the country, the products of their own labor yielded about five hundred dollars at their first sale, which was held in December, 1845. This first success, so great in proportion to their means, and the very favorable state of public sentiment which it indicated, induced immediate reorganization for the year that has just closed, and awakened zeal, industry, and hopefulness, proportioned to the cheering results of their first effort.

In addition to the stock produced and collected by the association during the year, they have the pleasure of acknowledging very generous contributions from our friends in England and Ireland. A correspondence was opened early in the season with Mr. Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, and, chiefly through his agency, a large number of towns in England and the city of Belfast in Ireland, contributed and forwarded a very large, tasteful, and valuable stock of goods for our sale, comprising, among a vast variety of elegant and useful articles, autographs of Lord Brougham, Hannah More, Mrs. Opie, Maria Edgeworth, Father Matthew, Isaac Taylor, Horace Walpole, Louis XV, Mary Howitt, and many others; among which, was the last letter written by Thomas Clarkson; a large and handsome variety of *papier mache* articles, made specially for our Bazaar; a rich collection of oil paintings, drawings, and superior prints; Colebrookdale castings of exquisite beauty; a large lot of china, with anti-slavery devices; free labor goods, of superior quality and beauty of fabric; splendid shawls, table covers, sofa cushions, and wax dolls; knitting, netting, and crochet work; and a very abundant supply of children's clothing.

These goods, unfortunately, did not arrive until after the sale of our own collection had closed, and the holyday season had passed by, and, with it, the best opportunity for the disposal of them; but they were immediately opened, and offered for sale by the ladies of the Bazaar Committee, in a store room on Chesnut street, in the customary manner of retail merchants, and sales were, in this way, effected in a few days, amounting to about twelve hundred dollars; leaving still upon our hands a considerable balance of these goods undisposed of, but available for our next year's sale.

Our entire receipts from the sales of the season exceed eighteen hundred dollars, which, when reduced by the custom-house duties and incidental expenses, will yet leave us a very handsome fund for the benevolent purposes of our organization.

SARA J. ELDER,
Corresponding Secretary.

JANUARY 30, 1847.

THE GREAT PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Mr. Whitney, it would seem, has been anticipated in the promulgation of the grand idea of a railroad to the Pacific. In 1839, a pamphlet of over 100 pages, entitled "Sketches of Iowa and Wisconsin," was put forth by John Plumbe, jun., at St. Louis, after a residence of three years in those Territories. In the course of some remarks on railroads in Iowa, we find the following passage:

"Our Government is now convinced by practical illustrations, that, so far as *economy* is concerned, it would be justifiable in incurring the direct outlay of a sum sufficient to defray the cost of constructing, for its own benefit, railroads upon all the leading routes throughout the Union.

"But the powers with which it is vested by the Constitution are not adequate to the adoption of this course, excepting where the General Government still owns the right of soil and sovereign jurisdiction. This is the case within the limits of the *Territories;* and an enlightened Congress has now entered upon a plan whereby, ultimately, to secure to the United States the *free* use, *forever,* of a grand national railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific ocean!

"Had the entire action of Congress, at its session of 1837–'38, been limited to one solitary measure alone, authorizing the commencement of this noble American enterprise, its memory would have been immortalized.

"The enhanced value of the public lands along the line of this projected work will repay the cost of its construction ten-fold, thus leaving to the nation the *clear gain* of a *free* railway, unparalleled in extent, and forming, when completed, the greatest thoroughfare in the world."

What was dreamt of seven years ago, by a solitary wanderer in the solitudes of the North west, is now a familiar theme with the press.

IMPORTANT DECISION.

WILLIAM HENDERSON *vs.* THE STATE OF OHIO.
In Error.

The above is the case which created so great an excitement in Columbus and vicinity last April. Henderson being the Justice of the Peace arrested for assisting in the *alleged* kidnapping of Jerry Phinney, a fugitive from labor from Kentucky, who had resided for sixteen years undisturbed in the State of Ohio. Henderson was indicted for kidnapping by the grand jury of Franklin county, with Forbes, Armitage, and others, engaged in the abduction of Jerry Phinney. A demand was made on the Executive of Kentucky, by the Governor of Ohio, for Forbes and Armitage, as fugitives from justice; which demand was refused, after a judicial investigation of the subject before Judge Brown, at Frankfort, in which many interesting constitutional questions were discussed. Subsequently, Armitage returned to Ohio, and was tried, with Henderson and others, under the before-mentioned indictment, for kidnapping, at a special term of the Franklin County Common Pleas, last September. Henderson, the justice of the peace, was convicted, and the other defendants acquitted. Numerous errors were assigned on the record, for the court refusing sundry instructions asked on behalf of the defendant, and giving others adverse to him; and also for misruling in many points of practice. The whole case was reserved at the Supreme Court for the decision of all the judges, in bank, when all the questions made were argued both orally and by printed briefs. It being *strenuously* contended, for the State, that Henderson acted only *ministerially,* as a person designated by the act of 1793 to carry out its provisions, and therefore, if, exceeding his commission, he arrested a freeman, he was to be held as strictly liable to answer for it as a sheriff or any other *executive* officer, who did not act in "good faith;" and it was denied that Congress could confer jurisdiction on a State officer, to act judicially in *such* cases, as the Constitution requires the judicial power of the United States to be vested in courts *established* by itself, and not in an officer whose action in *this class* of cases could be prohibited by State laws, as is decided in the Prigg case. The following is an accurate statement of the points decided *unanimously* by the Supreme Court, in bank, on the 21st January, Wood, chief justice, delivering the opinion. Held:

1. That in a criminal case it is error for the court to proceed to trial, conviction, and judgment, with *eleven jurors only.*

2. That the consent of the parties does not legalize such conviction.

3. That under the Constitution of the United States, and the law of Congress of 1793, a justice of the peace *may* act in causing to be arrested, in adjudicating upon, and delivering up, one claimed as *an escaping slave.*

4. That the justice acts judicially, and is protected from a criminal prosecution upon the principle of *judicial immunity.*

5. That it does not depend on the *good or bad faith* with which a judicial officer acts, when he *pursues the forms of law,* and *keeps within his jurisdiction,* whether he is or is not responsible upon an indictment.

6. That a civil action for the *abuse* of legal forms, to effect, *maliciously,* an improper end, and impeachment, are probably the only remedies: *sed quere? Judgment* reversed.

The full opinion of the court will be written out after the adjournment, and doubtless will be very interesting, as discussing many points of constitutional law.

The case was argued for the prisoner, the plaintiff in error, by Messrs. Swayne and Matthews, and for the State by Mr. Stansberry, attorney general, and by Messrs. Webster and Baber.

On the points of practice the court were equally divided, but, all the main principles on which the case depended being settled in favor of the prisoner, the attorney general ordered his immediate discharge, he having already laid in jail eight months, having been unable to procure bail. It is understood that he will immediately resume his functions as justice of the peace in Franklinton, opposite to Columbus, after this narrow escape from the penitentiary, as the term for which he was elected to serve for that township has not expired. Thus it will be seen that the highest judicial tribunal of the State of Ohio has solemnly reaffirmed all the positions laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States in the celebrated Prigg case, as to a master's right to recapture his fugitive slave *unimpeded* by the State laws—a matter of universal interest to the whole Union, and therefore this decision will excite general attention everywhere.

XENIA, *January* 25, 1847.

For the National Era.

A FIRESIDE STORY.

"The northeast wind is driving
The snow drifts before our door,
'Tis a terrible night, dear mother,
For the sailors along the shore.
Their sails must be frozen stiff,
And they cannot see to steer;
God's pity be at the sailors
Who are out on this night of fear.

But we are all here together,
And the fire is clear and warm;
Come, tell us some pleasant story,
And let us forget the storm—
Something that ends in brightness,
Like starlight after a rain;
Something that makes us happier,
Though it sadden us first with pain!"

THE BROWNIE.

By a lone hill in fair Scotland,
Two hundred years ago,
There dwelt a poor old woman,
In a cottage thatched and low:
Her husband slept the great sleep,
Beneath the kirk-yard stone,
Her children unto distant wars
Or distant homes had gone.

She sat alone, beside her hearth,
One cold December's night;
The scanty embers burning there
Gave little warmth or light;
And painful thoughts of other days
Came crowding on her brain—
Thoughts of the blessings she had lost,
And could not find again.

Just as the north wind blows to-night,
Only with wilder roar,
It blew the snow drifts down the hill,
And piled them at her door.
There was no rushlight and no wood,
To keep the dying fire;
It was not thus when her two boys
Sat by her with their sire!

Then came a soft knock on the door,
The latch was raised with care,
And in there stepped a little child,
In from the piercing air.
Her eyes, like heaven, whose sunset gold,
Shone through her light-brown tress;
And like the green of grass in June
Was her fine woven dress.

Upon her back a bundle stout
Of fagots she had slung;
A burden fitter for a man
Than for a child so young.
She tripped with ease across the floor,
No sound her footfall made,
And on the dull and fading fire
The welcome fagots laid.

Then how the ruddy fire blazed up!
How cheered the old dame felt,
While, sweeping lightly o'er the hearth,
The little maiden knelt.
Then, oh! how gaily tripped she back,
And drew within the door
A wicker basket, amply filled
With most delicious store.

Oh! there was bread, as white as e'er
A southern earl did break;
And venison and honey, which
A king might well partake;
She spread them on the table old,
With nicest skill and care,
And then she begged the ancient dame
To taste the proffered fare.

No more the hearth seemed dull and lone,
The night all dark and drear—
That blithe and busy little maid
The saddest heart could cheer.
And ever to herself she sung
Some merry woodland song
So sweetly, that the old dame's hours
Seemed scarcely minutes long.

A clear and glorious morrow
Lit up the cot and hill;
But with more joy the good dame saw
The child had lingered still.
The fire was blazing gayly,
The table spread once more,
And neatly had the little maid
Swept up the cottage floor.

She brought the fagots from the wood,
The water from the well,
And knew the poor dame's wants before
Her aged lips could tell.
Oh! blessings be forever
On the Brownie of the Hill,
And our dear God, who to His poor
Sends down His angels still!

MILTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

[PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.]

LINES
Suggested by the Death of Captain Eugene Boyle.
BY A LADY.

He sought renown in the tented field,
Where the force of his destiny bore him;
A chivalrous heart his invincible shield,
While the star-spangled banner waved o'er him.
He fought for his country's honor and fame,
Where the arrows of death were flying;
His dauntless spirit remained the same,
Though heroes around him were dying.
But the fiat went forth; an Invisible Hand
The days of his years had numbered,
And the Angel of Death cast her shadowy wand
O'er the couch where our hero slumbered.
But he sleeps in peace, in an honored grave,
Where a laurel wreath entwined him;
And he leaves not a heart more warm or brave,
In all the land behind him.
Fame sheds a halo around his head,
No after time can sever;
And his country's glory—the brave who bled—
Are linked with his name forever.

A NEW VIEW OF WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

It may be useful to inquire, what have been the doings of the emancipated negroes in the West Indies? In connection with a return lately furnished to the British Government, as to the number of emancipated negroes who have become freeholders, &c., in British Guiana, is appended a list of estates which they have purchased, either in partnership or association. From this list we extract the following instances:

Perseverance Estate.—Four hundred and seventy acres purchased by sixty-three laborers in association, for $5,000; and two hundred and fifty acres, purchased by one hundred and nine laborers, for $1,715, in the same manner.

Littlefield Estate.—Five hundred acres purchased by twelve laborers in partnership, for $9,000.

Lovely Lass Estate.—Five hundred acres bought for $1,715, by fourteen laborers in association.

North Brook Estate.—Five hundred acres purchased by eighty-four laborers in partnership, for $10,000.

These are only examples from a list extending over five foolscap sheets of paper. From the facts gathered from them, we see no cause to doubt the wisdom of these enfranchised blacks. They have even set an example to the working classes of the whites. In a country where little labor is required for the sustenance of life, they appear determined to discountenance the oppressive system of over-worked hired labor. This they effect by becoming freeholders through co-operation, in association, in partnership. In all this there is no lack of wisdom, in all this the image of God in ivory might take a lesson from the image of God in ebony.—*People's Journal.*

CIRCULAR.—*Dr. S. Fahnestock's Vermifuge—the original and genuine article.*—For the satisfaction of my customers, and all persons interested in the sale and use of my Vermifuge, as well as in justice to myself, I feel it my duty to acquaint the public with the facts that have given name and celebrity to the justly esteemed medicine known for many years past as Fahnestock's Vermifuge.

About the year 1828 or 1829 I first came in possession of the recipe for the manufacture of this invaluable medicine. Not having then the means or prospect of promulgating it beyond the sphere of my professional duties, I, at the solicitation of a friend, consented to have the secret transmitted to a near relative, B. A. Fahnestock, Druggist, of Pittsburg. This gentleman, availing himself of the important secret, and the means of using it to his own advantage, has since that period made a monopoly of the business of manufacturing and selling what he calls B. A. Fahnestock's Vermifuge. Latterly, circumstances have induced me to commence the business myself, with a confidence based on the use of my Vermifuge, in daily practice, for upwards of fourteen years, as well as improvements in the article resulting from long experience, together with special care and personal attention to the manufacture of the medicine, which latter item I consider of the first importance to its general efficacy. The success attending my Vermifuge, after a year's trial, has fully justified my confidence in its superior quality.

I should not have considered the above statement necessary, had it not been for the recent appearance of an invidious Circular, over the signature of B. A. Fahnestock, in which, together with various insidious epithets bestowed on my personal character, and that of W. F. Moeller, my worthy partner in business, my Vermifuge is denounced as a worthless preparation. This is his own sole *ipse dixit,* in contradiction to the attestations of numerous physicians and chemists, who are competent judges of the article, and the experience of those who have used it. Therefore, regarding the disparaging statements of B. A. Fahnestock, the *onus probandi* rests with himself, and it will require an unexplored art to him to acquit himself of it. S. FAHNESTOCK.

With reference to my reputation, the following certificates will amply suffice:

State of Ohio, Montgomery County, ss:

I, William M. Smith, deputy clerk of the court of common pleas in and for said county, do hereby certify, that I am well acquainted with Dr. Samuel Fahnestock, formerly of Pennsylvania, now of Dayton, Ohio; and I hereby certify that his standing as a physician is good, and, as a citizen, his reputation is beyond reproach; and that full faith and credit should be given to any statement of his. Witness my hand, and the seal of the said county, this 3d of November, A. D. 1846.

[L. S.] WILLIAM M. SMITH,
Deputy Clerk of Common Pleas.

State of Ohio, Montgomery County, City of Dayton, ss:

I cheerfully concur in the above statement, made by the clerk as above set forth, as witness my hand and official seal of said city, this 14th day of November, 1846.

[L. S.] WILLIAM J. McKINNEY, Mayor.

The following gentlemen have certified to the correctness of the above statements:

V. Winters, Cashier Dayton Bank; P. Odlin, Esq.; John Howard, Esq.; Hon. Robert C. Schenck; G. Aughinbaugh; Major H. Gebhart; F. Gebhart, merchant; J. A. Walters, M. D.; John Rench, commission merchant; J. A. Aughinbaugh. Jan. 21.

PLUMBE NATIONAL DAGUERREAN GALLERY, AND PHOTOGRAPHERS' FURNISHING DEPOTS; awarded the gold and silver medals, four first premiums, and two highest honors, at the National, the Massachusetts, the New York, and Pennsylvania Exhibitions, respectively, for the most splendid colored Daguerreotypes and best apparatus ever exhibited.

Portraits taken in exquisite style, without regard to weather. Instructions given in the art.

A large assortment of apparatus and stock always on hand, at the lowest cash prices.

New York, 251 Broadway; Philadelphia, 136 Chesnut street; Boston, 75 Court and 58 Hanover streets; Baltimore, 205 Baltimore street; Washington, Pennsylvania avenue; Petersburg, Virginia, Mechanics' Hall; Cincinnati, Fourth and Walnut, and 176 Main street; Saratoga Springs, Broadway; Paris, 127 Vieille Rue du Temple; Liverpool, 32 Church street. Jan. 7.

TOOTH ACHE CURED IN ONE MINUTE, BY THE USE OF THE CLOVE ANODYNE.—This is an excellent article, and will cure the most violent tooth ache or pain in the gums in one minute. The Clove Anodyne is not unpleasant to the taste or injurious to the teeth, and will permanently cure any tooth to which it may be applied.

The following testimony, from one of our most distinguished practical Dentists, will be considered sufficient evidence of its merits:

NEW YORK, *December* 19, 1844.

Messrs. A. B. Sands & Co.:

GENTLEMEN: In the course of my practice I have extensively used, with much success, your Clove Anodyne, for the relief of the tooth ache; and, as I constantly recommend it to my patients, I deem it just to impart my satisfaction to you.

I am yours, very respectfully,
M. LEVETT, Dentist,
260 Broadway, corner of Warren street.

☞ Prepared and sold, wholesale and retail, by Henry Johnson, Druggist and Chemist, successor to A. B. Sands & Co., 273 Broadway, corner of Chambers street.

G. F. THOMAS & CO.,
147 Main street, between Third and Fourth streets,
Jan. 7. Agents for Cincinnati.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS.—
REPUBLICATION OF
THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW,
THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,
THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW,
THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, and
BLACKWOOD'S EDINB'GH MAGAZINE.

The above Periodicals are reprinted in New York, immediately on their arrival by the British steamers, in a beautiful clear type, on fine white paper, and are faithful copies of the originals—*Blackwood's Magazine* being an exact fac-simile of the Edinburgh edition.

The widespread fame of these splendid Periodicals renders it needless to say much in their praise. As literary organs, they stand far in advance of any works of a similar stamp now published, while the political complexion of each is marked by a dignity, candor, and forbearance, not often found in works of a party character.

They embrace the views of the three great parties in England—Whig, Tory, and Radical. "Blackwood" and the "London Quarterly" are Tory, the "Edinburgh Review" Whig, and the "Westminster" Radical. The "North British" is of a more religious cast, being under the editorial supervision of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, Edinburgh, and Sir David Brewster, and representing more particularly the Free Church movement in Scotland.

The prices of the *Reprints* are less than one-third of those of the foreign copies, and, while they are equally well got up, they afford all that advantage to the *American* over the *English* reader.

TERMS.
PAYMENT TO BE MADE IN ADVANCE.

For any one of the four Reviews,	$3.00	per annum.
For any two of the Reviews,	5.00	do.
For any three of the Reviews,	7.00	do.
For all four of the Reviews,	8.00	do.
For Blackwood's Magazine,	3.00	do.
For Blackwood and the four Reviews	10.00	do.

CLUBBING.

Four copies of all or any of the above works will be sent to one address, on payment of the regular subscription for three, the fourth copy being gratis.

☞ Remittances and communications must be made in all cases without expense to the publishers. The former may always be done through a postmaster, by handing him the amount to be remitted, taking his receipt, and forwarding the receipt by mail, post paid; or the money may be enclosed in a letter, postpaid, directed to the publishers.

N. B. The postage on all these Periodicals is reduced by the late post-office law to about *one-third the former rates,* making a very important saving in the expense to mail subscribers.

In most of the large Cities and Towns lying on the principal railroad and steamboat routes in the United States, these periodicals will be delivered FREE OF POSTAGE.

LEONARD SCOTT & CO., Publishers,
Jan. 7.—6m 112 Fulton street, New York.

C. FOSTER & CO.—*To Printers throughout the United States:* CHARLES FOSTER, late Foreman of the Cincinnati Type Foundry, and the inventor and builder of the press called *Foster's Power Press,* now used by the Cincinnati Atlas, the Enquirer, Kendall & Barnard; also, the Frankfort Commonwealth, the Indiana State Journal, Cutler & Chamberlin, formerly State printers, Indiana, &c.; also, the press lately used to print Cassius M. Clay's paper, Lexington, Kentucky—would inform printers in the Western States and elsewhere, that, after an experience of fourteen years, he has, in connection with *Bevan, Scott, & Co.,* in the city of Cincinnati, established the manufactory of Power Presses, (being the only one west of the mountains,) Hand Presses, the Washington, Smith, and Franklin Presses, of all sizes; also, Chases, Composing Sticks, Brass Rule, Type Cases, Galleys, Card, Job, and Embossing Presses, Printers' and Bookbinders' Materials of all kinds. We will also furnish Printers' Ink, Cuts, Rules, fancy Job Type; also, Types for Newspapers, Book and Job Types, from William Hagar's Type Foundry, New York; and also Western Type, manufactured in Cincinnati.

All orders directed to Foster & Co., corner of Seventh and Smith streets, or to Shepard & Co., No. 11 Columbia street, east of Main, Cincinnati, Ohio, will receive prompt attention.

C. FOSTER & CO.

P. S. The subscribers will also furnish Castings, Steam Engines, Mill Works, Horse Powers, Threshing Machines, Screws for Hay, Lard, Tobacco, &c.; also, Straub's Patent Portable Corn and Flouring Mills, Corn Crushers and Shellers, Clark's Patent Smut Machine, with any other Machinery, built to order, on reasonable terms. Jan. 7.

CANCERS CURED.—*Roots Extracted without the Knife.* R. S. NEWTON, M. D., performs all operations upon Cancers, Schirrus Breasts, Indurated Tumors, Scrofula, or Ulcers, with his new discovered Remedy, which has proved to be one of the greatest discoveries of the age, and has proved itself to possess medical properties unequalled by any medicine now used or ever known by the medical profession. His method of treatment is new, safe, and peculiar, and has given him a reputation for radically curing the above diseases not equalled by any other regularly educated physician living, without the knife, as can be seen by references.

In all cases, the patient must visit me in Cincinnati, Ohio, and be under my immediate care. All communications must be addressed to Cincinnati, post paid.

CERTIFICATE.

We would just say to the afflicted, that we have been the subjects of Cancer, and pronounced incurable by some of the most eminent physicians and professors of the day, and have been radically cured by Dr. N.'s new remedies within the last five years.

NANCY GREEN, New Lisbon, O.
E. F. HARMON, Kanawha, Va.
HANNAH HEPHNER, New Lisbon, O.
JOHN LANSLEY, McConnellsville, O.
JOHN N. KERR, Gallipolis, O.
MARY STEEL, Harrisonburg, Va.

Some hundred names could be given, if called for, of those who have been cured within a few years.

REFERENCES.

Darius Davenport and Rev. W. P. Strickland, Cincinnati; W. H. Brisbane, M. D., Philadelphia, Penn.; J. W. McGuire, Jackson, Missouri; Rev. E. M. Boring, Athens, Ohio; Hon. S. F. Vinton, Gallipolis, Ohio.

Office on Sixth street, between Main and Walnut streets, Cincinnati, Ohio. Jan. 28.—6m

INSENSIBLE PERSPIRATION.—Insensible perspiration is the great *evacuation* for the impurities of the body. It will be noticed that a thick cloudy mist issues from all points of the surface of the body, which indicates that this perspiration flows uninterruptedly when we are in health, but ceases when we are sick. Life cannot be sustained without it. It is thrown off from the blood and other juices of the body, and disposes by this means of nearly all the impurities within us. The language of Scripture is, "In the *blood* is the life." If it ever becomes impure, it may be traced directly to the stoppage of the *insensible perspiration.* Thus we see, all that is necessary, when the blood is stagnant or infected, is to open the pores, and it relieves itself from all impurities instantly. Its own heat and vitality are sufficient without one particle of medicine, except to open the pores upon the surface. Thus we see the folly of taking so many internal remedies. All practitioners, however, direct their efforts to restore the insensible perspiration. The Thompsonian, for instance, *steams,* the Hydropathist shrouds us in wet blankets, the Homœpathist deals out infinitessimals, the Allopathist bleeds and doses us with mercury, and the blustering Quack gorges us with pills, pills, pills.

To give some idea of the amount of the insensible perspiration, we will state that the learned Dr. Lewenhock ascertained that five-eighths of all we receive into the stomach passed off by this means. In other words, if we eat and drink eight pounds per day, we evacuate five pounds of it by the insensible perspiration. This is none other than the used-up particles of the blood and other juices, giving place to the new and fresh ones. To check this, therefore, is to retain in the system five-eighths of all the virulent matter that nature demands should leave the body. By a sudden transition from heat to cold, the pores are stopped, the perspiration ceases, and disease begins at once to develop itself. Hence a stoppage of this flow of the juices originates so many complaints. It is stopping the pores that overwhelms mankind with coughs, colds, and consumption. Nine-tenths of the world die from diseases induced by a stoppage of the insensible perspiration. Let me ask, now, every candid mind, what course seems the most reasonable to pursue, to unstop the pores after they are closed? Would you give physic to *unstop* the pores? Or would you apply something that would do this upon the surface, where the clogging actually is? And yet I know of no physician who makes any external application to effect it. Under these circumstances, I present to physicians, and to all others, McAlister's ALL-HEALING OINTMENT, or the WORLD'S SALVE. It has power to restore perspiration on the feet, on the head, around old sores, upon the chest—in short, upon any part of the body, whether diseased slightly or severely. It has power to cause all external sores, scrofulous humors, skin diseases, and poisonous wounds, to discharge their putrid matter, and then heals them. It is a remedy that sweeps off the whole catalogue of cutaneous disorders, and restores the entire cuticle to its healthy functions. It is a remedy that forbids the necessity of so many and deleterious drugs taken into the stomach. It is a remedy that neither sickens, gives inconvenience, nor is dangerous to the intestines. It preserves and defends the surface from all derangement of its functions. The surface is the outlet of five-eighths of the bile and used-up matter within. It is pierced with millions of openings, to relieve the intestines. Stop up these pores, and death knocks at your door. It is rightly termed all-healing; for there is scarcely a disease, external or internal, that it will not benefit. I have used it for the last fourteen years for all diseases of the chest, consumption, liver, involving the utmost danger and responsibility; and I declare, before Heaven and man, that not in one single case has it failed to benefit, when the patient was within the reach of mortal means. I have had physicians learned in the profession, I have had ministers of the gospel, judges on the bench, aldermen and lawyers, gentlemen of the highest erudition, and *multitudes of the poor,* use it in every variety of way; and there has been but one voice, one united universal voice, saying, "McAlister, your ointment is *good.*"

Consumption.—It can hardly be credited that a salve can have any effect upon the lungs, seated as they are within the system. But if placed upon the chest, it penetrates directly to the lungs, separates the poisonous particles that are consuming them, and expels them from the system. I need not say that it is curing persons of consumption continually, although we are told it is foolishness. I care not what is said, so long as I can cure several thousand persons yearly.

Headache.—The salve has cured persons of the headache of twelve years' standing, and who had it regularly every week, so that vomiting often took place. Deafness and earache are helped with like success.

Cold Feet.—Consumption, liver complaint, pains in the chest or side, falling off of the hair, one or the other, always accompanies cold feet. It is a sure sign of disease in the system to have cold feet. The salve will cure every case.

In *scrofula, erysipelas, salt rheum, liver complaint, sore eyes, quinsy, sore throat, bronchitis, broken or sore breast, piles,* all *chest diseases,* such as *asthma, oppression, pains;* also, *sore lips, chapped hands, tumors, cutaneous eruptions, nervous diseases,* and of the *spine,* there is probably no medicine now known so good; and as for *burns,* it has not its equal in the world.

Pimples on the Face, Masculine Skin, Gross Surface.—Its first action is to expel all humor. It will not cease drawing till the face is free from any matter that may be lodged under the skin, and frequently breaking out to the surface. It then heals. When there is nothing but grossness, or dull repulsive surface, it begins to soften and soften, until the skin becomes as smooth and delicate as a child's.

Worms.—If parents knew how fatal most medicines were to children, taken inwardly, they would be slow to resort to them, especially "mercurial lozenges," called "medicated lozenges," vermifuges, pills, &c. The truth is, no one can tell, invariably, when worms are present. Now, let me say to parents, that this salve will always tell if a child has worms. It will drive every vestige of them away. There is probably no medicine on the face of the earth at once so sure and so safe in the expulsion of worms.

Toilet.—Although I have said little about it as a hair restorative, yet I will stake it against the world. They may bring their oils, far and near, and mine will restore the hair two cases to their one.

Old Sores.—That some sores are an outlet to the impurities of the system, is because they cannot pass off through the natural channels of the insensible perspiration. If such sores are healed up, the impurities must have some other outlet, or it will endanger life. This salve will always provide for such emergencies.

Rheumatism.—It removes almost immediately the inflammation and swelling, when the pain of course ceases. In all cases of fever, the difficulty lies in the pores being locked up, so that the heat and perspiration cannot pass off. If the least moisture can be started, the crisis has passed, and the danger is over. The all-healing ointment will, in all cases of fevers, almost instantly unlock the skin, and bring forth the perspiration.

Scald Head.—We have cured cases that actually defied every thing known, as well as the ability of fifteen or twenty doctors. One man told us he had spent five hundred dollars on his children without any benefit, when a few boxes of the ointment cured them.

Corns.—Occasional use of the ointment will always keep corns from growing; people need never be troubled with them if they will use it.

As a Family Medicine, no man can measure its value. So long as the stars roll over the heavens, so long as man treads the earth subject to all infirmities of the flesh, so long as disease and sickness is known, just so long will this good ointment be used and esteemed. When man ceases from off the earth, then the demand will cease, and not till then.

JAMES McALISTER & CO.,
Sole Proprietors of the above Medicine.

☞ Price 25 cents and 50 cents.

As the All-healing Ointment has been greatly counterfeited, we have given this caution to the public, that "no ointment will be genuine unless the names of *James McAlister,* or *James McAlister & Co.,* are WRITTEN with a PEN upon EVERY label." Now, we hereby offer a reward of five hundred dollars, to be paid on conviction, in any of the constituted courts of the United States, of any individual counterfeiting our name and ointment.

☞ To be had of ELY & CAMPBELL, Lower Market, between Main and Sycamore streets; also, of G. F. THOMAS, Main street, between Third and Fourth, Cincinnati. Jan. 7.

☞ Will the papers friendly to freedom please give the following advertisement an insertion, and oblige

BELA MARSH.

UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF SLAVERY, *by Lysander Spooner;* published by BELA MARSH, and for sale at 25 Cornhill, Boston, and at the ANTI-SLAVERY DEPOSITORY, No. 5 Spruce street, New York. Price 25 cents. Postage on the book for any distance is but 6 cents. A person remitting $1, post paid, can have four copies sent by mail. A liberal discount will be made to booksellers and agents who buy to sell again.

☞ Will the publishers of Anti-Slavery papers please to keep a supply on hand for sale?

RECOMMENDATIONS.

Mr. Garrison, disagreeing to its conclusions on the ground that the words of the Constitution do not fully express the intentions of its authors, yet says: "His logic may be faultless, as a merely logical effort. We admit Mr. Spooner's reasoning to be ingenious—perhaps, as an effort of logic, unanswerable. It impresses us as the production of a mind equally honest and acute. Its ability, and the importance of the subject on which it treats, will doubtless secure for it a wide circulation and a careful perusal."

Mr. Joshua Leavitt says: "It is unanswerable. There will never be an honest attempt to answer it. Neither priest nor politician, lawyer nor judge, will ever dare undertake to sunder that iron-linked chain of argument which runs straight through the book, from beginning to end."

Mr. Gerrit Smith, in a letter to the Liberty Press, (Utica,) says: "It is admirable. I warmly commend it to you and your readers. High as were my opinions of his ability, they are higher now that I have read his argument in favor of his position that there is no legal or constitutional slavery in this nation."

Mr. N. P. Rogers, agreeing with some of its positions, and disagreeing with others, says: "It is a splendid essay. If the talent laid out in it were laid out at the bar, it would make the author distinguished and rich. This essay should give the author a name at the Boston bar. It will at the bar of posterity."

Samuel E. Sewall, Esq., says: "It merits general attention, not merely from the importance of the subject, but from the masterly manner in which it is handled. It every where overflows with thought. We regard it as a grand arsenal of legal weapons, to be used in the great contest between Liberty and Slavery. I hope it will receive the widest circulation."

J. Fulton, jun., (Penn.,) says: "Now that I have read it, I feel bound to say that it is the most clear and luminous production that I have ever read on the subject. It begins without a line of preface, and ends without a word of apology. It is a solid mass of the most brilliant argument, unbroken, as it seems to me, by a single flaw, and treads down as dust every thing which has preceded it on that subject. Let every friend of the slave read the work without delay. I believe it is destined to give a new phase to our struggle."

Richard Hildreth, Esq., says: "No one can deny to the present work the merit of great ability and great learning. If any one wishes to see this argument handled in a masterly manner, with great clearness and plainness, and an array of constitutional learning, which, in the hands of most lawyers, would have expanded into at least three royal octavos, we commend them to Mr. Spooner's modest pamphlet of one hundred and fifty-six pages."

Elihu Burritt says: "It evinces a depth of legal erudition which would do honor to the first jurist of the age."

The True American (Cortland county, New York) says: "It is an imperishable and triumphant work—a law argument that would add to the fame of the most famed jurist, living or dead."

The Bangor Gazette says: "It is indeed a masterly argument. No one, unprejudiced, who has supposed that that instrument (the Constitution) contained guarantees of slavery, or who has had doubts upon the point, can rise from the perusal without feeling relieved from the supposition that our great national charter is one of slavery, and not of freedom. And no lawyer can read it without admiring, besides its other great excellences, the clearness of its style and its logical precision."

The Hampshire Herald (Northampton) says: "It is worthy of the most gifted intellect in the country."

The Worcester County Gazette says: "Mr. Spooner, we think, has clearly shown that it (slavery) has no constitutional foundation."

The Liberty Press (Utica) says: "The author labors to show, and does show, that slavery in this country is unconstitutional, and unsustained by law, either State or Federal."

The Granite Freeman says: "We wish every voter in the Union could have the opportunity of reading this magnificent argument. We should hear no more, after that, of the 'compromises of the Constitution,' as an argument to close the lips and palsy the hands of those who abhor slavery, and labor for its removal."

The Charter Oak says: "Of its rare merit as a controversial argument it is superfluous to speak. It may, in fact, be regarded as unanswerable; and we are persuaded that its general circulation would give a new aspect to the anti-slavery cause, by exploding the popular but mistaken notion that slavery is somehow entrenched behind the Constitution."

The Albany Patriot says: "This effort of Mr. Spooner is a remarkable one in many respects. It is unrivalled in the simplicity, clearness, and force of style with which it is executed. The argument is original, steel-ribbed, and triumphant. It bears down all opposition. Pettifogging, black-letter dullness and pedantry, special pleading and demagogism, all retire before it. If every lawyer in the country could have it put into his hands, and be induced to study it as he does his brief, it would alone overthrow slavery. There is moral firmness enough in it for that purpose."

The Chronotype calls it "one of the most magnificent constitutional arguments ever produced in any country. It needs such a work as Mr. Spooner's on constitutional law to make the Constitution of the least value to us as a shield of rights."

The Liberty Gazette (Burlington, Vermont) says: "This work cannot be too highly praised or too extensively circulated. Its reasoning is conclusive; and no one can read it without being convinced that the Constitution, instead of being the friend and protector of slavery, is a purely anti-slavery document."

The Indiana Freeman says: "Every Abolitionist should have this admirable work, and keep it in constant circulation among his neighbors."

The Worcester Ægis says: "This work is one of the ablest, perhaps *the* ablest review of all the arguments *pro* and *con,* upon the subject of slavery, that has yet emanated from the American press. No one who feels the least interest whatever in this great question should fail to possess himself of a copy."

DR. J. WHITE, *Eclectic Botanic Physician,* respectfully tenders his professional services to the citizens of Cincinnati and vicinity. Office, residence, and Botanic Medicine Store, on Sixth street, near Main, opposite the Galt House. Those at a distance who cannot call on or send for him, whose cases are not beyond the reach of all medicines, by forwarding to him a statement of their age, the length of time they have been afflicted, symptoms, progress, and general nature of their complaints, (cash accompanying such statement, postage paid,) may procure the remedies necessary for their cure.

Dr. W. having made chronic diseases an especial study, he would respectfully invite the attention of all those who are laboring under complaints of long standing to the above, as he feels fully warranted, by past success, in promising speedy relief.

In addition to his stock of fresh Vegetable Medicines, he also prepares and keeps constantly on hand his celebrated Vegetable Elixir, Vegetable Pills, and Indian Compound.

The Vegetable Elixir, from the unprecedented success which has attended its use, may be regarded as an infallible remedy for colds, coughs, consumptions, spitting of blood, pain in the side and breast, irritation and soreness of the lungs, bronchitis, difficulty of breathing, hectic fever, night sweats, emaciation and general debility, asthma, influenza, whooping cough, and croup. Every family should keep the Vegetable Elixir on hand, not only to cure any of the above diseases already contracted, when it is almost the only source of hope, but to counteract the tendency of the climate to consumptive complaints, and to be used as a preventive medicine in all those cases proceeding from cold.

The Magic Liniment, from its extraordinary healing virtues, has acquired an unrivalled reputation, superseding all similar preparations, and is used with great confidence as an unfailing cure for rheumatism, neuralgia, bruises, sprains, cuts, dislocations, burns, scalds, old sores, weakness, stiffness of the joints, swelling of the glands of the throat, bronchitis, white swelling, and swellings and inflammations generally, diseases of the spine, toothache, aches and pains wherever located, affections of the kidneys, spleen, liver, heart, and lungs. It has been employed with eminent advantage in cholera, cholera morbus, cramp and wind cholic, fevers, fever and ague, piles, &c. The Magic Liniment has proved of superior efficacy in the treatment of disorders to which horses are liable, such as strains, galls, cuts, scalds, corks, scratches, sweeny, stiffness of the joints, colic, bots, &c. This Liniment is immeasurably superior to any similar preparation known in Europe or America, and every family should be supplied with it.

The Vegetable Pills have now become a standard medicine, universally approved, and justly esteemed the best pill now known. They unite great power with mildness of action, and operate throughout the whole length of the alimentary canal, which they thoroughly cleanse. They never fail to produce healthy action; they may be given to every age and sex; they remove all offensive accumulations in the bowels; they do not bring on subsequent constipation or costiveness; they stimulate all the surrounding organs to a healthy state; and they are of great utility in all cases where physic is required. As a *Medicine for Females,* the Vegetable Pills are unequalled. Acting upon the secretions and excretions, they remove from the system all obstructions and impurities; and, carrying away the morbid humors which occasion a sluggish and unequal circulation of the blood to the extremities, they impart to the skin the glow of health, leaving it clear and blooming. They may be taken with entire safety and decided advantage in every variety of disease, in every peculiarity of circumstance and situation, by all ages and both sexes, wherever a cathartic, laxative, or alterative medicine may be required.

The Indian Compound.—This is the only infallible remedy for scrofula, or king's evil, white swellings, syphilitic and mercurial diseases, cancerous ulcers, ulcers of all kinds, eruptions on the skin, diseases of the bones, affections of the liver, dyspepsia, costiveness, rheumatism, gout, and all nervous and chronic complaints occurring in debilitated constitutions. This agreeable compound is warranted as an infallible purifier of the blood, actually accomplishing all that it has been asserted sarsaparilla would do, but has never performed. It cleanses and purifies the blood, strengthens the stomach, removes dyspeptic influences, soothes the nerves, checks all consumptive habits, and removes internal obstructions and diseases that would otherwise cause injury to the liver and lungs. It is the most certain eradicator of constitutional and hereditary complaints that can be employed, in the present state of medical science. It is, in fact, the only remedy upon which a reasonable hope of permanent recovery can be founded, in those cases where the virus of the parent causes a development of scrofula or syphilis in the child, and in all complicated cases, as in persons whose constitutions are broken down by mercury and arsenic, or by an improper or injudicious treatment of disease in general. Dr. White has used the Indian Compound with distinguished success in the treatment of the maladies named above, and found it equally efficacious to all, to the infant as well as to the adult. Working its way through the system with silent and effective power, it gives tone and energy to both the secretory and excretory organs, and, as a remedy for the removal of *Female Obstructions and other diseases,* it is infallible. Persons afflicted with any tendency to eruptive diseases, inflammatory or chronic rheumatism, inflammation of the throat or tonsils, or other disorders indicating or growing out of radical impurity of the blood, are advised to provide themselves with this medicine. Dr. White has used the Indian Compound, with the most gratifying results, in the treatment of a great number of cases of *Syphilitic Diseases.* Even in the worst forms of this loathsome affection, when the poison has been absorbed and taken into the circulating mass, the Indian Compound has promptly and thoroughly eradicated the virus from the system, and produced radical and permanent cures.

The first No. of Dr. White's Eclectic Journal of Health has been issued from the press, and is now ready for gratuitous distribution to all who may desire to be better informed as to the best means of curing and preventing disease, and promoting health and longevity. In this No. of the Journal may be found interesting notices of some of the maladies mentioned above, together with the uses and value of Dr. White's remedies for their relief and cure. They may be had at his office and Botanic Medicine Store, on Sixth street, near Main, opposite the Galt House.

The following are a few, taken from a large number of the flattering testimonials Dr. White has received and is receiving from those who may be seen here, and whose integrity no one will doubt:

CINCINNATI, 1846.

DEAR SIR: Two or three years ago, in consequence of exposure, I was seized with a violent cold, which was soon followed by a bad cough, attended with free expectoration of a frothy mucus, streaked with blood. At the same time, I was greatly debilitated by night sweats, and suffered much from pain and soreness in the breast, and inflammation of the stomach and bowels. My lungs and liver were both alarmingly affected, and my friends looked upon my case as hopeless.

For two years I was treated by some of the ablest of the faculty in the city, but without experiencing any benefit whatever. I also used many of the most noted remedies of the day, in the hope that among them all I might meet with something that would give me relief. The hope was a vain one. At last I was providentially advised to apply to you, sir; and the result is, I am still alive, and in the enjoyment of excellent health. My recovery was so rapid and complete, that, when I returned to the foundry, and resumed my business there, my fellow workmen looked upon me with astonishment, and several of them have since told me that they had given up all expectation of ever seeing me alive.

I am induced to make this statement from a desire that the afflicted may know the benefit I have derived from the use of your Vegetable Elixir, Magic Liniment, and Vegetable Pills, and to urge them to a like employment of these remedies.

Gratefully and respectfully yours,
THOMAS CHAMBERS.

DR. WHITE.

P. S. To remove the doubts of the incredulous, you are at liberty to refer to me at Messrs. Greenwood & Co.'s foundry, or at my residence. T. C.

CINCINNATI, 1846.

DEAR SIR: I certify that I have made much use of Dr. White's Magic Liniment in my family, and have found it valuable in so many cases of injury and illness, that I have come to regard it as indispensable to the health and comfort of my family. I have used it with great advantage in bruises, scalds, burns, &c., and have successfully employed it in treating the petty illnesses and more serious complaints of myself and children. In fact, it would be difficult to say what it is *not* good for. Some time ago, I had an attack of fever and ague; and notwithstanding the many remedies I used, and the medical aid I employed, I did not experience the slightest relief. Happening, fortunately, to have a bottle of Magic Liniment in my house, and believing it to be good for almost every other form of complaint, I determined to try it for fever and ague also. I accordingly put ten or fifteen drops into a tea cup half full of water, and took it when the chill was on. In a very short time the chill passed off, and was followed by a profuse perspiration, which continued the greater part of the night. In this way I cured fever and ague, and have had no return of it since. At another time I was very much afflicted with piles, and found no relief until I resorted again to the Magic Liniment, or, as my wife calls it, "cure all." This time I diluted the Liniment with sweet oil, applied it to the parts, and was almost immediately relieved of all pain, and in a short time my cure was perfect and permanent. I do believe it is good for more diseases than any remedy known. I always keep it in my family, and recommend others to do the same.

EBENEZER HUNT.

DR. J. WHITE.

CINCINNATI, 1846.

DEAR SIR: About twelve years ago, at the turn of life, I was so imprudent as to wade into the water, which brought upon me a complication of female and other complaints, my sufferings from which for many years rendered life a burden. My head was disordered, my spine became diseased, my liver was affected, attended with dyspepsia. I was afflicted with palpitation of the heart; I had frequent attacks of inflammatory rheumatism, causing an enlargement of the joints; my skin assumed a sallow, dark, spotted appearance, and I was left the mere wreck of a human being.

During the long period of my sufferings, I was under the care of the best physicians of the country, but from whose treatment I received no benefit. I had almost abandoned the hope of recovery, believing all means of cure had been tried upon me in vain, when my attention was called to a case, in many particulars similar to my own, reported in the newspapers as having been successfully treated by you. I immediately determined to place myself also under your care. In a very short time, after taking your Vegetable Elixir and Vegetable Pills, and applying your Magic Liniment, I began to experience a decided change for the better, and in a few weeks I felt that my health was entirely restored. Indeed, the change in my appearance was so great and so sudden, that many of my friends, who had not seen me for a few months before, did not readily recognise me. If it can be the means of saving others of my sex the misery and pain I have suffered during a period of nearly twelve years, I shall esteem myself singularly fortunate.

I will observe, in conclusion, that your remedies deserve a place in every family in the country, and I am sure they will have, as their excellence becomes more generally known.

THIRZA A. LUKENS.

Dr. J. WHITE. Jan. 21.

IMPROVED LARD OIL.—Improved No. 1 Lard Oil, warranted to burn equal to sperm. It being manufactured without acids, and the gum extracted, lamps are neither crusted nor machinery corroded in using it. It has been well tested on the Ohio, the Lakes, and some of the Atlantic cities. Orders received from all parts of the United States and the British Provinces, and executed in any quantity, in strong barrels and half barrels. For sale by

THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
Jan. 7. No. 33 Water street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

MEDARIS, McKEE, & MARTIN, manufacture and keep constantly on hand, at their shop on Seventh street, three doors west of Main street, and at Bailey, Boyer, & Arnold's, Nos. 14 and 16 East Columbia street, Cincinnati, Ohio, a large and general assortment of all kinds of SCALES. Their Platform Scales are made from entire new patterns, upon their late improvements, some of which have never before been offered to the public, which are so constructed as to render it utterly impossible for the works to get out of order—they having made greater improvements on Scales than any other manufacturers in the United States. It is only necessary for those wanting a good article to call and examine their stock, to insure a very liberal patronage. Terms very reasonable, and satisfaction warranted.

REFERENCES.

Cincinnati.—Shreeve, Steele, & Co.; Gaylord, Morrell, & Co.; G. & J. H. Shoenberger; Thomas H. Minor & Co.; C. Donaldson & Co.

Louisville, Kentucky.—Clifton, Norton, & Co.; Hewett, Anderson, & Co.; Snead & Gardner.

New Orleans.—Hewett, Heran, & Co.; Thomas B. Winston. Jan. 21.

TYPE AND PRINTERS' MATERIALS.—The subscriber has taken the Type Foundry lately occupied by Messrs. Cockcroft & Overend, No. 68 Ann street, in the city of New York, and will attend to all orders he may receive with punctuality and despatch. All the type manufactured by the subscriber will be *hand cast,* and of good metal and finish; and he will furnish all kinds of Printers' Materials of the best quality, at the usual prices.

Mr. J. A. T. Overend (late of the firm of Cockcroft & Overend) has been employed to superintend the manufacturing department for the subscriber.

Old type will be received in payment on the usual terms.

Jan. 7. ROBERT TAYLOR.

RAWDON, WRIGHT, & HATCH, *Bank Note Engravers and Printers,* Corner of Fourth and Main streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Bank Notes, Bonds, Bills of Exchange, Drafts, Bill Heads, Cards, Seals, &c., &c., engraved in a superior style and at the shortest notice.

This office has been established in this city for the past five years, and during that time has accumulated a stock of Dies, for the execution of Bank Notes and similar work, unsurpassed for variety, beauty, and number.

All work intrusted to this office will be done in Cincinnati, and not in New York or any other Eastern city, thereby saving time in transportation.

This office is under the immediate supervision of GEORGE T. JONES, a practical Engraver, who has been in their employ the last thirteen years.

Portraits, Landscapes, and similar works, will be attended to, and executed in the first style of the art.

N. B. On hand, 75,000 sheets of superior Bank Note Paper, of various tints. Jan. 7.